id to Private Schools *Murray Friedman & Peter Binzen*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — January 23, 1971, 50 cents

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

How Safe Are Nuclear Power Plants?

First of a Series by Ralph E. Lapp

Richard Poirier on Norman Mailer

Peter Barnes on Reagan and the Poor

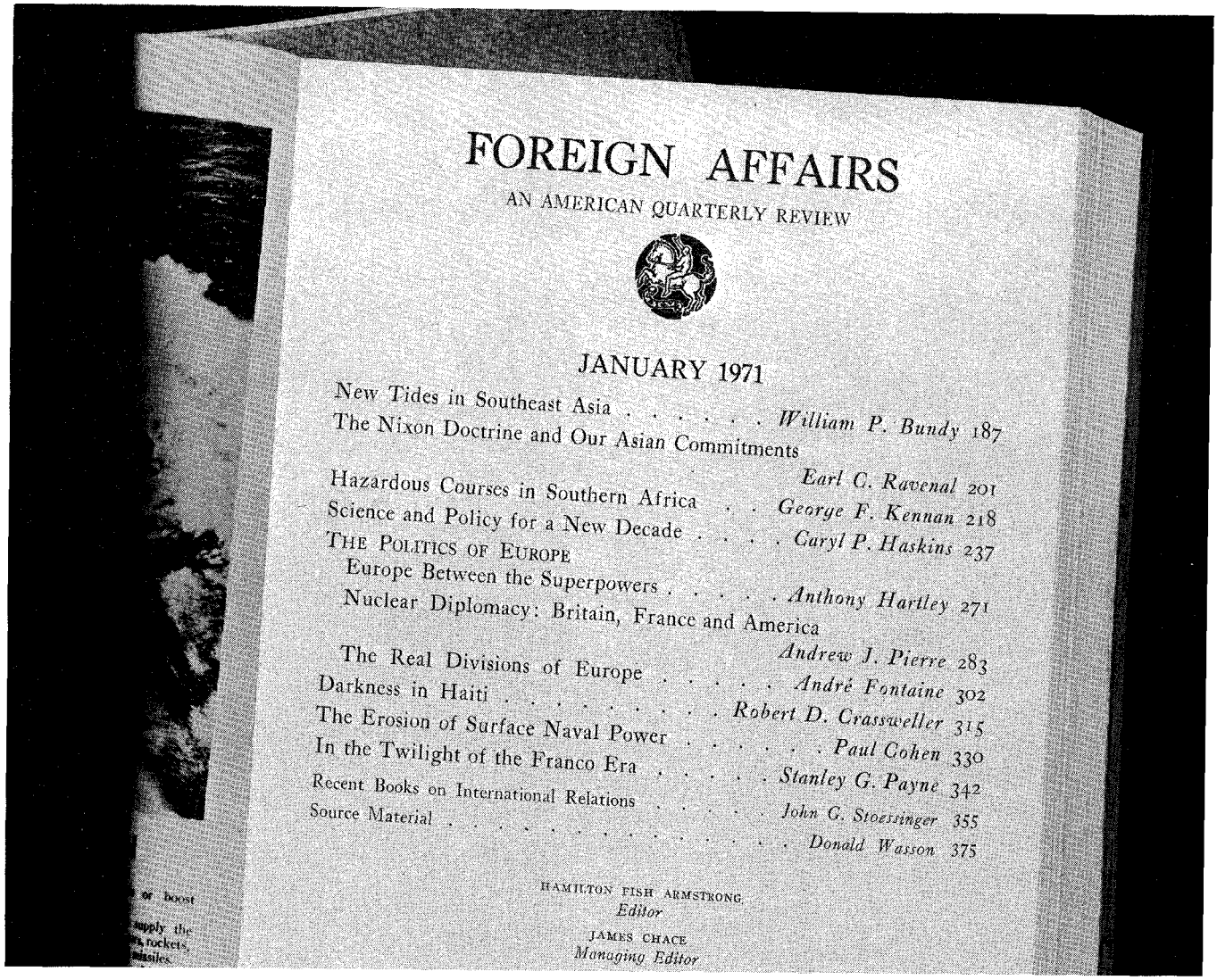
The Editors on Willy Brandt's Critics

Sedulus on Sweet Dreams for TV

John Osborne on Elliot Richardson

NR BLO7 C009 1 1071
BALDWN WLCE COLL
RITTER LIB PRO
BEREA OHIO 44017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AN AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW
JANUARY 1971
New Tides in Southeast Asia . . . . . William P. Bundy 187
The Nixon Doctrine and Our Asian Commitments
Hazardous Courses in Southern Africa . . Earl C. Ravenal 201
Science and Policy for a New Decade . . . . George F. Kennan 218
THE POLITICS OF EUROPE Caryl P. Haskins 237
Europe Between the Superpowers . . . . . Anthony Hartley 271
Nuclear Diplomacy: Britain, France and America
The Real Divisions of Europe . . . . . Andrew J. Pierre 283
Darkness in Haiti . . . . . André Fontaine 302
The Erosion of Surface Naval Power . . . . . Robert D. Crassweller 315
In the Twilight of the Franco Era . . . . . Paul Cohen 330
Recent Books on International Relations . . . . . Stanley G. Payne 342
Source Material . . . . . John G. Stoessinger 355
Donald Wasson 375
HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG
Editor
JAMES CHACE
Managing Editor

If you're interested in Foreign Affairs

why not subscribe to it?

For over 48 years *Foreign Affairs* magazine has served as an international forum on foreign relations.

In every country, the men responsible for foreign policy look to *Foreign Affairs* for authoritative opinions and a fresh analysis of the problems they wrestle with day-by-day. For them it is required reading. They trust its editorial integrity. They know it does not take a partisan position and welcomes to its pages all honest and intelligent points of view regarding the great issues of our time.

But most *Foreign Affairs* subscribers are not experts or professionals. They are Americans with inquiring minds and a desire to keep themselves informed. With it they gain a new grasp of today's critical problems and an understanding of those that must be faced tomorrow.

While *Foreign Affairs* is read by heads of governments, foreign ministers and our officials in Washington, it is edited in the conviction that important ideas and issues of policy can be as comprehensible and interesting to the layman as to the professional.

If you want to know more about the forces shaping our foreign policy, take advantage of this special introductory offer: Receive the current issue free, plus a full year's subscription at the reduced price of $7.88 (regular price is $10). A total saving of $4.62.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 58 East 68th Street New York, New York 10021

Enter my subscription to Foreign Affairs beginning with the April, 1971 issue at the special introductory rate of $7.88. As a bonus I am to receive the current issue, as well, for a total saving of $4.62 over the single issue price.

☐ Enclosed is $7.88 ☐ Bill me later

SPECIAL OFFER FOR TWO-YEAR SUBSCRIPTIONS:

☐ Enclosed is $14.00 for a two-year subscription, plus my bonus issue, for a total saving of $8.50 over the single issue price.

N-38

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Xerox Learning Systems announces...

Effective Listening

This new home-learning program improves your powers of listening to help you learn more, earn more, understand more.

EVEN THOUGH we spend nearly half our waking lives listening — to instructions . . . complaints . . . requests . . . directions . . . conversations . . . lectures . . . problems and speeches—studies prove most of us retain only **25%** of what we hear.

That's because we were never taught the skills of listening. And there *are* definite skills—just as there are techniques for effective writing, reading and persuasive speaking.

Announcing Xerox Learning System's EFFECTIVE LISTENING Program— Successfully Taken by Over 2,000,000 Men and Women, Used by Over 700 Businesses and 1,000 Colleges and Universities.

Xerox Learning Systems, the adult education specialists of the Xerox Education Group, is bringing professional know-how to at-home learning. We've created a series of courses for perceptive men and women who recognize that communication skills are vital in contemporary society.

This first program is designed to help you listen better. Not in the same way you're used to listening, but in an entirely new Effective Listening way. Over 700 blue chip corporations give the course to their employees to help them earn more and learn more. Over 1,000 colleges and universities give it to students, particularly in freshman orientation, to help improve their listening and retention skills. It works there, too.

But even more important, people from all fields—businesses, professions, the clergy, students, teachers and housewives — have reported significant results with this program.

And now you can use the individualized version of the same proven program to double your listening skills.

Here's What EFFECTIVE LISTENING Can Do For You

Strengthen your capability to absorb meaningful information. You'll learn how to outline mentally by capturing and sorting facts . . . *automatically* organizing them in your mind . . . and how to store them for future use. You'll learn how to sift and summarize critical information, constantly analyzing what is being said.

Improve your ability to understand. You'll learn how to cut through the emotions of a discussion, screening out irrelevancies and structuring facts in a meaningful, concise way — and you'll learn how to recall these facts when you need them.

3. *Increase your earning potential.* If you learn how to listen effectively you're more effective in your job. You become more valuable to yourself and to your employer.

4. *Find it easier to convince people. . . easier to sell your ideas.* If you listen well and comprehend someone's viewpoint, it is logical that you can respond more effectively. You absorb more information to add to discussions.

5. *Enjoy easier communications . . . better personal relations.* By being a good listener you will be easier to talk to . . . more receptive to ideas. People will feel freer to talk to you — making all types of communication easier.

How does the EFFECTIVE LISTENING Program do all this? Just as a good course in effective reading can teach you to read whole phrases and sentences at a glance . . . EFFECTIVE LISTENING shows you how to *absorb* the meaningful content of spoken information. And you learn to capture more of the facts you hear — all organized in your mind for more effective recall. And once learned, Effective Listening stays with you. We urge you to mail the coupon below.

"... I found it not only interesting but helpful and useful as a good basis for organizing successful listening in the future. There's no question in my mind that listening can be and should be one of our two or three most important communication functions. This is an excellent course and very useful for a United States Senator. You are performing a great public service in providing this course..."
Senator William Proxmire
United States Senate

"It is filling a need for us by highlighting the amount of ineffective listening that is going on. Even our top executives now realize that they were not listening as well as they might."
Walter McGuire, Nabisco Corporation
(reprinted from BAKERS WEEKLY MAGAZINE)

"It has helped me get to the core of a person's problem by eliminating the emotional factors and minutiae."
Guy O. Mabry, Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corporation
(reprinted from NATION'S BUSINESS)

Your EFFECTIVE LISTENING Program Includes:

- Three long-playing records which explain and teach listening techniques and contain listening situations in which you participate.
- Two practice response books which outline the program, contain question and answer sections and give details on how to increase your listening skills.
- Pre- and post-tests which allow you to measure your progress.

These materials are sufficient for two people to take the program.

YOU ARE INVITED TO ENJOY THE PROGRAM ON A TEN-DAY TRIAL... NO OBLIGATION TO PURCHASE.

The entire cost of Effective Listening may be tax deductible as a business expense if it maintains or improves skills required in your employment. You can check this with your tax advisor.

Xerox Learning Systems
Dept. 113, Box 750
175 Community Drive, Great Neck, N.Y. 11021

Please send me the EFFECTIVE LISTENING Program for a ten-day trial. If I am not satisfied, I may return it within that time and owe nothing. Otherwise, I may keep the program by sending a first payment of $6.86 and then five additional monthly installments of $5.00 until the complete price of $29.95* (plus $1.91 postage and handling) is paid. I understand there is no finance charge for this service.

My Name_____ Age_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Signature_____
*plus sales tax where applicable

☐ Enclosed is the full payment of $31.26* to save myself the bother of a series of payments. I understand that the same 10-day money-back privilege applies.

EL-B

XEROX
Xerox Learning Systems
XEROX IS A REGISTERED TRADEMARK OF XEROX CORPORATION

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $12, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc., 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional mailing offices.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB®

from Washington

Might-Have-Beens

Here it is time again for the annual State of the Union speech and the Administration is all scrubbed up. We're going to have a new Nixon, a humane, compassionate, reflective, genial, bipartisan, friendly Nixon, a man who loves the poor and the blacks, and the unemployed and yes, even the young people (who now have the vote, 18 years to 21).

They've done a retooling job on Spiro Agnew, too, and though it isn't quite finished yet he's having his face lifted and is being fitted to a fine new image; he will be humane, kindly, cozy, genial, easy-going and maybe even folksy and whimsical, if Bill Safire can think of some good gags.

This is going to be the beginning of an era of good-feeling so far as Mr. Nixon is concerned and if the truce doesn't hold it will be the fault of the President's critics. Murray Chotiner, Mr. Nixon's old hatchetman, is leaving the White House where he has been over-conspicuous as Special Counsel; he is going to an undisclosed job in a private capacity. Some believe that he will be director of a campaign organization having something to do with 1972, under the wing of Attorney General Mitchell, but it will be privately funded, you understand – political in a nonpolitical way. Mr. Chotiner taught Mr. Nixon the political game and has longer and stronger ties with him than anybody else. It was Chotiner's speech in 1955 that put down in black and white how to win a campaign: "There are many people who say . . . we want to conduct a constructive campaign and point out the merits of our candidate. I say to you in all sincerity that if you do not deflate the opposition candidate before your own candidate gets started, the odds are that you are going to be doomed to defeat."

This wouldn't apply to Ed Muskie now, would it – in the harmonious beginning of the new Congress? Well, it will be interesting to see where Mr. Chotiner surfaces in coming months.

In this mellow new atmosphere of a governmental year starting on a new cycle we can't help feeling that maybe, after all, it was a good thing that Hubert Humphrey was defeated two years ago. It is a disloyal thought, in a way, because we have always liked Hubert. But, you know – he's a *spender*, and all that; there's no knowing what the deficit would be if he were President. We had this treacherous thought as we read Mr. Nixon's shy confession to Howard K. Smith after the hour-long televised conversation the other day: "You know," he said, "I am a Keynesian." That shook us. Here is a man who keeps abreast of things; he's found out about Keynes and is bold enough to come out and say so. Above all, he has flexibility; when the rest of the country shifts its position he can shift as fast as anybody.

If you don't think the new Keynesian Nixon is quite a change let me quote some of the remarks that General Eisenhower made about his vice president in the campaign of 1960. "So I come here again to tell you my convictions" Gen. Eisenhower said, "that Richard Nixon and Henry Cabot Lodge offer to America the finest type of leadership that is today available in this nation" (Nov. 2, 1960). Gen. Eisenhower backed Mr. Nixon because he felt he would keep the faith, balance the budget, not run after these queer new economic nostrums. He told the GOP convention: "Here we encounter a major difference between the two parties: we as Republicans, reject the argument that healthy growth can thus be bought from the funds of the federal treasury." In other speeches the general charged that "to indulge in deficit spending is not only robbing our grandchildren; it is the way of the political coward." Yes sir, he believed in a balanced budget and he achieved what some people had thought impossible – three sizable recessions in eight years, an unbalanced budget *and* inflation. All at the same time.

If Hubert Humphrey had won in 1968 he would have favored an activist policy all the time, but when Mr. Nixo comes out for it, why – that's new "What we're going to do first is t have an expansionary budget," M Nixon answered Nancy Dickerson short question in a monologue th took half a column of print in th *NYTimes*. You can't trust the Dem crats, and if Mr. Humphrey had wo in 1968 you would probably see infla tion today; yes, and like as not, unem ployment, too. A lot of trade unionist who didn't work very hard for hi must be grateful today that they hav Richard Nixon. Hubert is an attractiv man personally, you understand, bu elect a man like that and you ma have tight money, and economic slow down, and a stock market slump, an people fearful of keeping their jobs.

Let's be honest about it, we do hav some economic turbulence, but it's a *temporary*: "1971 in essence will be good year and 1972 will be a very goo year." Mr. Nixon says so. Furthermor though he is starting an activist cours you feel safer having him handle i He knows where to draw the line. Ex pansion, yes; but a veto for medical an school and employment and trainin opportunities bills. The way to expan is to give business a leg-up with $2.6 billion tax reduction; prosperit will trickle down. Hubert Humphre wouldn't have had the imagination fo that. The President needs flexibility And that's what our man Nixon ha Take Vietnam: isn't it fine how he i bringing the boys home? There is tal that some of them are getting a bi edgy and demoralized, and smokin pot and playfully fragging their offi cers, but that is all exaggerated. Viet nam is a good example of Mr. Nixon' ability to adjust. He was an outstandin hawk and rattled the sabre in article in *Reader's Digest* all through the six ties: "win this crucial war – and win i decisively" (August, 1964); "it is tim to stand firm and then move forward (Nov. '64); "we are fighting not jus in the interest of the US but for peac freedom and progress of all people' (Dec. '65). And so on. Now, of course public opinion has changed and Mr Nixon has changed, too.

You see what we mean about Hum phrey. A good man, in a way, but lack *class*. Just imagine – if he had won Muskie would be vice president, no Spiro! No "nattering nabobs of nega tivism." We can't stand the thought

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 164, No. 4, Issue 2926, January 23, 1971. Published weekly (48 issues a year) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50c. Yearly subscription $12; Foreign $13; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6; Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright© 1970 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

Contents

7-10 Comment
Hectoring Herr Brandt, Other People's Money, I'll Be Around
11 The Nixon Watch: Secretary Richardson – *John Osborne*
12 Politics and Parochiaid – *Murray Friedman and Peter Binzen*
15 Reagan Versus the Poverty Lawyers – *Peter Barnes*
18 The Nuclear Power Controversy: Safety – *Ralph E. Lapp*
22 Films – *Stanley Kauffmann*
23 Books – Reviews by *Richard Poirier, Townsend Hoopes*
27 Feiffer
29 Television – *Sedulus*
31 Communication – *F. Raymond McKenna*
32 Correspondence

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – David Sanford
Literary Editor – Reed Whittemore
Films and Theater – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editor – John Osborne
West Coast Editor – Peter Barnes
Production Manager – Ira Klafter
Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers
Contributing Editors – Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Zalin B. Grant, Gerald W. Johnson, Melville J. Ulmer, Paul R. Wieck
London Correspondent – Anthony Howard
Publisher – Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager – Lucy Samuelson
Business Manager – Reubena Faulconer
Advertising Director – F. F. McAdams
20 West 43rd St., New York, N.Y. 10036

Hectoring Herr Brandt

If "private" West German citizens as eminent in their country as Dean Acheson, George Ball, John McCloy and Lucius Clay are in America were to hector the US for the follies of its foreign policy, some eyebrows would be raised in Los Angeles, Dallas, Denver and Boston. But when Acheson-Ball and Company publicly chastise Chancellor Willy Brandt for Bonn's overtures to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, their criticism is not thought to be impudent, or their intervention unwarranted. Perhaps that is because we have become accustomed to "the arrogance of power." If so, the arrogance is nowhere more pronounced than among those Americans (excepting James Bryant Conant), who were prominent sponsors of West Germany's postwar economic recovery and of the Western military alliance. To our Old Boys, the knife-like separation of Europe into two hostile and incompatible blocs is a phenomenon as natural and permanent as four legs on a horse. Of course they believe Bonn should be given its head, so long as it understood who by right holds the reins, and so long as Bonn trots along a prescribed path. That the horse might know a better or quicker way, or even its way home, is an annoying thought.

What has Herr Brandt – this tough ex-mayor of embattled free Berlin, this uncompromised enemy of Nazism – done that disturbs such seasoned diplomats as Mr. Acheson and Mr. Ball? First, Brandt signed an agreement with the Soviets renouncing the use of force and acknowledging, *de facto*, existing frontiers between the two Europes; an agreement that says in effect: nobody is going to "roll back" anybody. Then, Brandt signed the Treaty of Warsaw, thereby recognizing what has been true since the end of World War II, that the western border of Poland is the Oder-Neisse line. Thus the door was opened for historic meetings with East German Premier Willi Stopf, at the first of which, a year ago, Brandt called for "neighborly" relations between the two Germanys, reasserted the rights and responsibilities of the allied powers for Berlin, and referred to German unity as "an opportunity – nothing more, but nothing less." Brandt's thesis has been that neither half of Germany has been fully sovereign in the postwar period, and that for the forseeable future there should be "two German states within one German nation." The meettings have confirmed West German recognition of East Germany's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

existence, if not its legitimacy.

Neither the President, nor (unkidnapped) Henry Kissinger, nor Secretary of State Rogers has said anything in public to embarrass Brandt. Although the Administration is not anxious for Bonn to take any pressure off the Russians and may have discreetly warned the Chancellor not to move too rapidly on his own, in general the Nixon Administration has been more open-minded and pragmatic in dealing with Europe than have high ranking Democrats from former Administrations. It was not Mr. Kissinger but Dean Acheson who scraped raw nerves in Bonn with his proclamation, after emerging from a session with Mr. Nixon, that the Chancellor should be "cooled off" in his "mad race to Moscow." And it was Mr. Ball, in an attack on an article in *The New York Times* friendly to Brandt's policies and written by former Justice Arthur Goldberg, who rang alarm bells.

What alarms these men is the possibility that Bonn's Western orientation would not survive detente; that West German understanding with adjacent Communist regimes or with the Soviet Union would undermine NATO; that almost any concession to the USSR weakens the West and invites further imperious (and imperial) Russian demands. In brief, the quest for "neighborly" relations is thought to be not only futile but hazardous in the extreme. Which it could be if those doing the questing were, unlike Herr Brandt and his colleagues, soft-headed idiots who don't know what they want, what they're up against, and who panic under pressure.

Mr. Ball's criticism is especially perplexing, for it is aimed at a nonexistent target. He calls upon Americans to "reserve final judgment on the new treaties until two issues are clarified: the first is whether any tangible benefits result from the current four-power talks on Berlin; the second is whether Britain joins the European Economic Community." That is precisely Brandt's position; that is what *he* is trying to clarify. Again last week, at a press conference in Bonn, the Chancellor's spokesman, Conrad Ahlers, repeated that his government would not begin direct talks with the East German government on Berlin until the four powers have reached some kind of fundamental accord on access to the city and on economic and political ties between Bonn and West Berlin. Only then, only after a timetable for a Berlin settlement and the roles to be played by all concerned parties have been determined, will Brandt's government begin the process of parliamentary ratification of its treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland. As for the European economic community, even before his initial probes eastward a year ago, the Chancellor had used West Germany's considerable economic leverage to get negotiation under way on Britain's long delayed entrance into the Common Market.

Why the fuss and fears? Other than closing down his foreign ministry and turning the job over to ou State Department, what more can be asked of Brandt He has pledged to maintain Germany's NATO con tribution. He has urged the retention of the America 300,000-man army in Europe, though the idea of slowly phased US pullback could be interesting to th Soviets and still not undermine Brandt's negotiatin position. In this country last April, he stated that th US commitment to Western Europe is "the prereq uisite for future successful negotiations with th Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact on a mutua balanced force reduction and on effective armament limitations." Is this what anyone has a right to call "mad race to Moscow"?

Brandt is no fool. Early last summer he warne against "false hopes," pointing out that "the wa toward treaty agreements between the two Germany will be long and difficult. The times do not work auto matically in favor of reason and peace." The evidence for this are all around him. The East German regim stiffly resists efforts to multiply contacts between th two halves of Berlin; the Russians, determined to retai hegemony in Eastern Europe and apprehensive ove demonstrations of discontent by workers or intellec tuals in Poland and elsewhere, are nervous about th prospect of greater Western influence; from time t time routes from the West to Berlin are capriciously obstructed. But it follows from none of this that only the Americans, not the West Germans, who are mos immediately and painfully affected, can be trusted t negotiate with forces so resistant and suspicious Brandt is there, he is familiar with the tactics and aim of those with whom he would deal, and it is he an the people he represents who will be the first to pa or prosper from the failure or success of his talks.

That, it seems to us, was the heart of what Arthu Goldberg said in *The New York Times* article to whic George Ball took such sharp exception. "I don't think," Justice Goldberg wrote, that "the United States ca have it both ways. We have pressured West Germany to adhere to the nonproliferation treaty, because o our justifiable interest in preventing the spread o nuclear weapons, and also of achieving agreemen between the two great superpowers, the United State and the Soviet Union, on disarmament measures. I other words, we have asked West Germany to accom modate itself to the realities of the nuclear situation Why, therefore, should we object to West Germany seeking a reasonable detente with Moscow, as we ar attempting to do?"

It would, as Mr. Goldberg said, be a grave matte indeed, if, "as a result of even subtle intervention o our part, Chancellor Brandt's regime were to topple.' The hectoring by "some private American citizens' cannot topple that regime (though it is hard presse by its domestic opponents), but neither can it strength en the Chancellor's hand in the bargaining ahead.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Other People's Money

As TRB noted in his column last week, stock brokers now can promise their clients as much safety from skullduggery as can banks and savings associations. The Securities Investor Protection Corp. (already affectionately called "Sipic" on Wall Street) protects brokerage customers, each and every, up to $50,000 in the event their securities firms go broke; the maximum for savers is $20,000 per account. Sipic insurance draws first on a $150 million industry pool, which sounds like a lot of money but isn't; in 1970, the New York Stock Exchange shelled out $55 million from its special trust fund to bail out customers of some of the 100-odd firms which either went under during the last several years or were forced into shotgun mergers with other firms. Should the $150 million industry insurance pool run dry, the Treasury – under Sipic – must stand ready with up to $1 billion. All this wouldn't have been worth much notice in the days when only a relative handful of the rich were in the market; but today almost 30 million Americans (as says the latest New York Stock Exchange survey) own stocks and bonds directly and millions more have a stake in Wall Street through their participation in pension and insurance plans. All kinds of institutions as well as individuals are in stocks – trade unions, university endowments, foundations. What happens on Wall Street has a direct effect on Main Street.

This being so, it's not surprising that the 91st Congress put investors under an insurance umbrella. What is curious is that it took Congress so long to tumble onto Wall Street's brokerage mismanagement and that it still isn't entirely hep to a long list of other security industry problems and Wall Street anachronisms. But debate on Sipic whetted a number of political appetites. Men like William Proxmire, John Moss, Harrison Williams, Emanuel Celler and even Harley Staggers now say they plan investment hearings during the 92nd Congress. They should be encouraged. Wall Street is ripe for investigation. So, for that matter, is the whole question of self-regulation of the securities industry, a concept which was born with the Securities Act of 1933. New ground rules are needed.

Under self-policing, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the regulatory agency created under the 1933 Act, has generally permitted the industry to write its own capital rules. Under them, much of a firm's capital was at times in the form of stocks. So long as the prices of a firm's stock portfolio remained fairly stable or rose, the capital structure looked great. But in the great bear market of 1968-69, stock prices took a bath, as they say on "The Street" (values dipped $300 billion at the low point). Consequently, many a firm's capital took a bath, too, so much of one that debts greatly exceeded assets – hence the rash of mergers and failures. In short, a brokerage firm is the only kind of business in this country permitted to paper over its assets with capital which might be worth $100 a share one day and $50 a week later. Late in 1969, Goodbody & Co., one of the biggest firms to go under, included more than $50 million in securities in its capital base.

Also under self regulation, a customer may leave his stock certificates with his broker for "safekeeping." The broker is supposed to "segregate" such accounts, so as to have the certificates handy in case a customer wants them. But as court suits and bankruptcies are beginning to show, many brokers haven't segregated such accounts but used the securities involved in all sorts of deals, to buy and sell for the firm's own accounts, to raise money for various speculations. As a result, thousands of trusting investors today are holding the bag; their brokers went bust and the securities left for safekeeping have vanished. Sen. Edward Brooke wanted the Sipic legislation to include a provision mandating the keeping of segregated accounts, but in the end he yielded to an SEC pledge that it would see that such practices were strictly followed. The SEC office supervising, among other things, brokerage practices of this type has a staff of four and a tiny budget.

The securities industry is the only business in the country in which all competitors charge identical fees and rates. The "minimum" commission which you or anyone else – an individual, mutual fund, foundation – pays is the same, no matter with whom you do business. It's been like that for 178 years. But not until April, 1968, did anyone challenge this arrangement as a violation of antitrust, and then the challenge came not from the SEC but the Justice Department. In particular, Justice deplored the fixed fee on large transactions, contending these were (and are) artificially high. The SEC then began hearings into the entire rate structure; the issue still hasn't been resolved, but "small" investors have been paying a "temporary" $15 surcharge every time they buy or sell.

The New York Stock Exchange, still the hub of most trading, was opened in 1792 but still resembles a private club, a point conceded last year by its president, Robert W. Haack. A total of 1366 "floor traders" and "specialists" govern the Exchange – all white and, with one exception, all male. Today, it's estimated that more than 50 percent of stock buying and selling is done by institutions, particularly the more than 300 mutual funds operating in this country (they have more than five million clients). But the New York Exchange still refuses to admit any institution to membership. That prohibition is largely based on the members' desire to conserve commissions for themselves. The Dreyfus Corporation, manager of a major mutual fund, last week decided to challenge tradition and apply for membership. No institution had ever done

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that before and Dreyfus did it reluctantly. Competition seemed to require the move. Some Exchange members (paying no commissions when they buy and sell, as Dreyfus must) have started their own mutual funds, manage pension funds, and have taken on corporations as partners. Dreyfus felt it had to apply if only to prod the federal government and the brokers to reconsider who should and who should not be seated.

Congress directed the SEC 30 months ago to conduct a special study to measure the impact of the institutions not only on the stock market but on the economy; mutual funds, for example, not only are big stock traders but they are influential shareholders in a rising number of American corporations. As of this writing, that special study hasn't been completed. Whatever conclusions and recommendations may eventually be forthcoming, critics already are complaining that the SEC permitted institutions to play a major role in framing the questions they were to answer on the 54 questionnaires involved. Special committees made up of representatives from banks, mutual funds and insurance companies haggled over the questionnaires for months and reportedly rewrote some of them up to 15 times.

It's not hard to conclude that the securities industry and even the SEC are ripe for investigation, and it's odd no politician has thought so before this, or that no consumer-oriented group has become interested. Legislators usually shy away from the stock market because of its complexity, and because Wall Street is the source of considerable campaign contributions. And while a growing part of the political constituency is in the market, there is little hue and cry from Main Street for some kind of action. Investors may be shaken when stock prices decline, but give them a good bull market for a week and hope springs anew.

"Gene McCarthy's throwing his ring into the hat."

I'll Be Around

A very old lady was observed in New Hampshire the other day wearing a large McCarthy-for-President button, saved from 1968. "Didn't you hear the Senator on television?" she said in explanation. "He's going to run again." She was referring to Mr. McCarthy's appearance before the New Year on "Meet the Press." But judging from his remarks then, her expectations exceed those to which the former Senator admits.

Pinpointing Eugene McCarthy's intentions, or even his whereabouts, is as tricky as belling a black cat on a moonless night. All that is visible is that he has no present plans to retire from public affairs, and, he will not be a Republican candidate in 1972. That leaves a broad field for any minstrel-at-large or sideline commentator. Since he has no plans, any plan is possible.

McCarthy supposes he could support any of the Democratic Presidential hopefuls, if they say what he thinks they should about the war, the economy, the democraticizing of the Democratic Party. On the other hand, he might prefer a new party; that "depends on what happens"; he does not, however, "necessarily want to lead in the effort to do that." "In a way," he doesn't feel "quite as pessimistic" about the country today, so he told his interviewers on "Meet the Press," as he did three years ago. But he's not very optimistic about the war. He guesses that the Vietnamization policy, "if it works . . . means that the war will be prolonged for four, five, maybe ten years." Which means it will be an issue in the next election.

He isn't asking for support. What would he do with it? Nevertheless, the same old problems will plague us, and people will be concerned about them. Maybe other politicians will take them up and talk sense about them, so "there may be no need for me and maybe nobody will want me; that is all right too."

He's setting up a small office in Washington, he will travel, read and maybe write poetry and other things. He's not sorry he ran for the Democratic nomination in '68. It had to be done. "Do you agree with those who say," moderator Spivak asked, "a man can't be a senator and at the same time run for the Presidency effectively, or be an effective senator?" "I don't think

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'ou ought to do it more than once in your Senate areer," Mr. McCarthy replied, "I let everyone do it nce."

A seductive man, not to be counted out, or in.

The Nixon Watch

Secretary Richardson

)ne of Elliot Richardson's assistants, watching him on TV panel show, turned to another assistant and groaned, "Oh God, there's our man again, coming over ike a codfish on ice." This was said in mingled pain, bafflement, and affection. The Secretary of Health, ducation, and Welfare comes over to his admirers at he department and to White House officials who work vith him as a warm and witty fellow and, what is nore, as a genius at public administration who could be 'resident if presidents were elected on the basis of heer ability and intellect. Richardson gives many other eople, this reporter among them, an impression of reat competence and of a desire to use that compeence for the public good. But those who esteem him, vhether they be advocates in his service or friendly ournalists, have two difficulties. One of the difficulties s with his record, which seems to be rather bare of oncrete and citable accomplishments. The other diffiulty is with Richardson himself. He simply does not onvey to the public, and he is not very good at conveying to individuals whom he doesn't know well, the ualities of warmth and humor that are said to leaven nd contradict the codfish image.

President Nixon arrived the hard way at his present iking for Richardson. Although they knew each other n 1956-58, when Richardson was an Assistant Secreary of HEW, Nixon was not prepared for one of Richardson's quirks when he first became Under Secreary of State in 1969 and attended occasional meetings t the White House. Richardson is a doodler. In his wn office, at Cabinet meetings and even (to the horror f his staff) in the President's office, he holds a large otepad in front of himself, just below face level, and oodles away, glancing up from his swirls and squares nd circles within squares only when a remark catches is interest or he is impelled to say something. When e isn't doodling, he is making notes on another sheet f paper. The habit intimidates and annoys people who ren't accustomed to it. A story heard at the White louse early in the Administration had it that Nixon vas so annoyed that he told Secretary of State William '. Rogers to keep that man away from him. Rogers vas said to have explained that it was Richardson's vay of concentrating on the business in hand, not of ignoring it, and that no rudeness was meant. Nixon soon welcomed Richardson back to Presidential councils and came to share the opinion that he did a standout job of administering the State Department and of bringing its policy processes into harmony with the White House processes established by Henry Kissinger.

When the President replaced Robert Finch with Richardson at HEW and brought Finch to the White House staff last June, he said he did it partly because that huge and historically unmanageable department needed a strong administrator. The aftermath illustrates the difficulty of determining what Richardson has actually *done* to justify his impressive reputation. A natural question was what difference his departure from State made in its operations and in its working relationships with the White House, in both of which Richardson was supposed to have been a key figure. The answer given at State and at the White House was that Richardson's departure has made no discernible difference; that things went along under his successor at State, a New York lawyer named John N. Irwin II who qualifies as the Administration's invisible man, just about as they had under Richardson. A similar difficulty is encountered at HEW. After six months of the Richardson regime, the talk heard in his behalf there is mostly of what he intends to do and is trying to do to bring his department, which he rightly calls "a great coalition," into some sort of cohesive institutional order, with a sense of institutional entity that it has lacked ever since it was thrown together in 1954.

That alone is a major undertaking and the larger purpose that Richardson has in mind is even more formidable. The larger purpose, which Richardson has yet to find a way to articulate with total coherence, is to persuade HEW's 100,000-plus employes and the heads and chief operatives in its 57 divisions, agencies, bureaus and offices that they are hired and exist to serve *people*, rather than simply to devise and implement programs in welfare, health, education that may or may not really serve the people they are intended to serve. It is even more complicated than the foregoing paraphrase of Richardson's many attempts to state his purposes may indicate. HEW's function consists largely of doling out money, in forms ranging from Social Security payments to hundreds of various kinds of grants to states, localities and private agencies which actually serve or fail to serve the poor, the sick, the students at the end of the long federal line. One of Richardson's endeavors is to distinguish those functions which are or could be solely and simply "resource transfer" activities from those that require federal control or guidance of the uses to which the money is put and to concentrate the department's energies and powers upon the latter. He speaks with scorn of what he calls the "Don't just stand there, *do something* syndrome," holding that it has led his department to waste much of its talents and time upon niggling and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unnecessary controls that should be left to the subsidized state, local or private agencies that deliver the actual services.

Here, however, he runs into more difficulty. He prefers a minimum of federal supervision of the delivered services, and he is profoundly distrustful of the notion that the setting of federal standards and the direct enforcement of them can or ever will resolve the many deficiencies and variations in the services delivered by subsidized agencies. He speaks of "goals" rather than "standards," of "incentives" rather than direct federal compulsion. He argues in essence that the basic and feasible federal task is somehow to "communicate" to the non-federal components of the vast social-service complex a desire to reach high and agreed "goals" and to provide them with the federal funds, knowledge and expertise that they may need to attain effective levels of delivery and performance. Any suggestion that this philosophy calls for a degree of confidence in the good faith and inherent competence of state and local governments that the record hardly justifies causes Richardson obvious pain. "I guess I will have to start over," he says, and does, leaving one with the impression that he is willing to use federal power in a positive way to accomplish federal purposes when it is proven to be absolutely necessary.

One place where the Richardson approach is perfectly understood and appreciated is the White House. Nobody there is willing to draw comparisons between one Cabinet Secretary and another, but the inquirer gets the impression that Elliot Richardson qualifies as Mr. Nixon's ideal department head. He has adjusted with complete grace and composure to changes in the traditional relationship between Presidents and Cabine members that in times past and in a less discipline Administration would have brought about open revol One of the changes, imposed by the President las summer, deprived department heads of their right o personal appeal to him on disputed budget issue Apart from rare group meetings with the Presiden they were required in preparing the upcoming fisc 1972 budget to deal entirely with John D. Ehrlichma the assistant for domestic affairs and director of th Domestic Council, and with George P. Shultz, directo of the Office of Management and Budget. There cam a time, very late in the budget process, when Richard son reduced his department's alternative allocations t 10 points that, as recently as 1969, the Secretary con cerned would have expected as a matter of right to tak up with the President. Richardson took them up wit Shultz, worked them out to the satisfaction of bot men, and never went near the President.

Richardson concluded in late December that onl the President could decide between some of the com peting options, worked out principally at HEW, fo the new national health insurance system that M Nixon has billed as one of his top domestic proposal for 1971. If the President made the choices, he did i through Ehrlichman, who had Richardson reduce th alternatives to a brief memo and handled all of th personal discussion with the Secretary. Richardson say that these experiences and others like them gave hi no sense that he is excluded from the President. I that's the way Mr. Nixon wants it, that's the wa Richardson wants it. It's the way to thrive in thi Administration.

John Osborn

Public Funds for Private Schools

Politics and Parochiaid

by Murray Friedman and Peter Binzen

The US Supreme Court will shortly hear argument on the constitutionality of laws in Pennsylvania and several other states that provide public funds for nonpublic schools. A decision supporting the state aid laws could lead to a fundamental alteration in the character of our educational system. And because the hotly controversial "parochiaid" issue has become linked with political strategies seeking to exploit working class (largely Roman Catholic) rage over this country' social revolution, the court's findings could have con siderable political wallop.

President Nixon has already taken sides. At th urging of Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott, a con summate ethnic politician, Mr. Nixon had the Justic Department file a "friend-of-the-court" brief support ing Pennsylvania's two-year-old "purchase-of-ser

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vices" law. Under this legislation, nonpublic schools in Pennsylvania are reimbursed for a portion of their costs in offering such "secular" subjects as mathematics, modern foreign languages, sciences and sports.

Mr. Nixon also has created a Presidential Commission on School Finances to study future revenue needs for all schools – public, private, and parochial. In signing an executive order establishing the commission on March 3, 1970, he cited the "specific problem of parochial schools" as a "particular assignment." He later named three parochial-school educators and an independent-school official to a special panel which is to make recommendations to him no later than March 3, 1972. Those recommendations and the position Mr. Nixon takes on them will have a bearing on the 1972 campaign.

Of course, the major beneficiaries of any state or federal aid to nonpublic education would be the Roman Catholic schools, for they enroll nearly 11 percent of all school children, and in many cities the proportion is far higher. In Philadelphia more white children attend parochial than public schools. Every third child in New York and Chicago is enrolled in a Catholic private or parish school. Since 1884, when the American Catholic hierarchy ordered the opening of a Catholic school in each parish, a huge second school system has come into being – one that is overwhelmingly white (and hence subject to criticism) and that generally inculcates the traditional values of working class ethnic Americans while also developing skills necessary for functioning in the wider society. To many non-Catholics and even some dissatisfied Catholics, parochial schools, with their hierarchical structure, their stress on discipline, deportment and rote memorization seem out of step in the modern world. But they continue to command loyalty and are firmly a part of the educational scene.

They're in deep trouble, however, because of spiraling costs and a growing shortage of nuns and priests as teachers. In place of the religious with their minimal salaries, parishes must hire more and more lay teachers who demand – and often get – pay close to that of public-school teachers. For many parishes such burdens are proving intolerable. When 10 Catholic schools in Buffalo announced in December that they were closing, the total shut down in recent years reached about 1000. In the past two years alone, according to the National Catholic Educational Association, Catholic schools have turned over half a million pupils to public schools.

At the same time, pressures to aid Catholic schools have been building in state legislatures. At the last count, 23 states provided transportation for nonpublic school pupils, nine gave textbooks, eight provided health services and four lent general auxiliary services. Six – Connecticut, Louisiana, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island – purchased services from nonpublic schools and paid salary supplements to their teachers. Hawaii allowed a small tax credit. The movement to assist Catholic schools has also suffered setbacks. State legislatures in Maryland, Virginia, Vermont, New Mexico and Montana have rejected various forms of aid. There are currently 27 active court cases challenging public assistance to sectarian schools. In Rhode Island and Connecticut lower-court rulings upheld these challenges and the cases have been appealed – along with Pennsylvania's, where the lower court upheld the state law. Michigan voters last fall rejected the state's purchase-of-services plan.

Opponents of public aid to church schools include many First Amendment "strict constructionists" who will fight any breach in the church-state wall of separation, some Protestants, Jews, atheists, and others (including plain bigots who view the Catholic church as a threat to American freedom), plus those who consider public schools the mainspring of our democracy and fear that dispersion of aid would undermine them. Last July, the National Education Association voted overwhelmingly against a "diversion of federal funds, goods or services to nonpublic elementary and secondary schools." A Gallup poll last year found 50 percent of those questioned opposed, and 37 percent favored, public funds for private schools.

Catholic resentment at being forced to support public schools with their taxes while getting no public help for their own schools is understandable. They note that the United States alone among western nations restricts its aid to state schools. President Nixon has said that if all nonpublic schools were forced to close, the US would be obliged to spend $4 billion a year more on public school operations and at least $5 billion additional for new facilities. The financial crunch and demands for help for Catholic schools also come at a time of a resurgence of ethnic identity, growing disappointment with public schools, and of new approaches to education. For example, many school reformers with no ties to or interest in Catholic schools demand that Washington and/or state governments subsidize alternative forms of education for those dissatisfied with neighborhood public schools. A federal "voucher plan" – a system to give parents chits to pay for sending children to the school of their choice – backed by the Nixon Administration, has reportedly been shelved because of opposition from teachers' organizations. "Voucher" bills have been introduced in California and New York and recommended by a special governor-appointed commission in Maryland. Beyond economics there appears to be a basis for developing a new definition of "public education"

MR. FRIEDMAN *lectures on urban sociology at LaSalle College;* MR. BINZEN *is urban affairs editor of the* Evening Bulletin *in Philadelphia.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that would include all schools that serve a legitimate public purpose. This idea grows out of the "new pluralism" research of John Webb Pratt (*Religion, Politics and Diversity*) and Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan in their book, *Beyond The Melting Pot*. The "new pluralists" argue that American society and its institutions have been built on a series of religio-ethnic-racial collisions and that accommodations are made to meet the needs of new groups and to purchase social and political peace. There is nothing devious or underhanded about this process: indeed, it is what must happen if our society is to work.

What generally occurs is that the "ethnic ins" – usually white Anglo-Saxon Protestants – accommodate the "ethnic outs" as the "outs" gain strength and apply pressure. There was an early example of this in colonial Virginia. Thomas Jefferson, James Moore, George Mason and other leaders were originally part of the Anglican Church Establishment that ruled Virginia and saw to it that all taxpayers, regardless of religious affiliation, helped support the Anglican Church. This church tax was not seriously questioned by Jefferson or anyone else as long as the Anglicans constituted a majority in Virginia. But when Presbyterians, Quakers, Baptists and Lutherans began pouring into Virginia and paying Anglican Church taxes against their will, they flooded the Virginia Assembly with protests. It was after this massing of opposition by the "outs," who became a numerical majority, that the Virginia Assembly adopted in 1776 its Declaration of Rights followed ten years later by Jefferson's famous Statute of Religious Freedom which became the basis for the First Amendment to the Constitution.

Accommodation to the needs and demands of Catholic Americans has been slower, because they arrived later. At the time of George Washington's inauguration, Catholics comprised less than one percent of the total American population. Today they make up almost 25 percent of the total population and form a constituency that legislators must reckon with. Rather than accommodating Catholics, the public school system was set up in the 19th century almost in defiance of them. In most states, the public schools were Protestant controlled or oriented from the outset and, in many cases, remain so today. It was partly because of hostility of "ethnic ins" to nonpublic schools that Catholics created their own school system. (For much the same reason, black groups now are demanding control of neighborhood public schools.)

To the charge that Catholic schools are "divisive," one can point to findings in the most comprehensive study of these schools ever undertaken. Sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation and the US Office of Education, it was directed by two prominent sociologists, Andrew M. Greeley and Peter Rossi. Their three-year national research project reported: "Community involvement, interaction with non-Catholics, concern about worldly problems, and attitudes toward other groups were not affected by attendance at Catholic schools." Indeed, Rossi and Greeley discovered more tolerant racial and religious attitudes among parochial school graduates who attended Catholic colleges after public school. Regarding quality of instruction, they found little to choose between public and parochial schools.

Pluralist arguments have been gaining wider support in the Supreme Court. In a recent New York case (*Board of Education* vs. *James E. Allen, Jr.*), ruling textbook loans to nonpublic school pupils constitutional, Justice Byron White wrote of the "significant and valuable" role played by private education "in raising national levels of knowledge, competence and experience." He went on:

> Americans care about the quality of the secular education available to their children. They have considered high quality education to be an indispensable ingredient for achieving the kind of nation and the kind of citizenry that they have desired to create. Considering this attitude, the continued willingness to rely on private school systems, including parochial systems, strongly suggests that a wide segment of informed opinion, legislative and otherwise, has found that these schools do an acceptable job of providing secular education to their students. This judgment is further evidence that parochial schools are performing, in addition to their sectarian functions, the task of secular education.

On the other hand, the Supreme Court, in approving tax exemption for churches, has noted that while this may have a secular purpose there can be no "extensive state involvement with religion." (*Walz* vs. *Tax Commission of the City of New York, 1970.*)

Whatever way the High Court rules, parochiaid has become as much a political and social question as a constitutional one. President Johnson succeeded in delivering massive federal aid to public schools in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 only by providing some help – mostly in services and library books – to Catholic schools. Kevin Phillips, former Republican strategist, thinks the Presidential candidate who gets the "Catholic vote" in 1972 will win, and he attributes Mr. Nixon's 1968 victory in large part to that vote. Mr. Nixon may think so, too. He is certainly busily engaged in forging a new religio-ethnic and "middle America" coalition. In the four large states that have enacted parochial school aid bills – Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio and Michigan – Republican administration took the lead in getting them passed.

In our view, Americans generally and liberals particularly can no longer afford to be negative on this crucial issue. (The fact that Nixon appears to be mov-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ng toward some form of parochiaid may harden liberal ›pposition.) They can continue to defend separation of hurch and state – as we do – and still favor constitutionally permissable alternatives to save financially roubled Catholic and other nonpublic schools. We ›ught to consider broadened programs of dual enrollnent, wherein parochial school students take a portion ›f their studies in public schools (New York's Board ›f Regents supports this); tax exemptions for parents ›f children attending nonpublic schools; and legalized otteries to raise funds for these schools.

We recognize the perils in extending public funds o Catholic and other private schools. Special pains nust be taken to avoid scaling down support of pubic schools; city schools have not yet begun to get the tate and federal support they need to survive. There nust be safeguards to prevent the proliferation of private schools as havens for the elite and those fleeing desegregated public schools. The public schools must not be permitted to become mere dumping grounds for the poorest, most deprived children. (In an effort to avoid such an eventuality, Connecticut's purchase-of-services law gives proportionately more money to those private schools with larger numbers of disadvantaged students. Connecticut and Illinois legislation also require periods of up to three years before a new private school can qualify for state aid.) In short, public schools must remain the keystone of our system. But there ought to be room as well for a wide variety of other schools with varying degrees of public support. A failure by liberals to respond positively and sympathetically can only widen the gulf between them and middle America, further diminishing their effectiveness as a political force.

Will the Governor Be Overruled?

Reagan Versus the Poverty Lawyers

›y Peter Barnes

San Francisco

Alejo Hernandez is a 47-year-old farmworker in California's San Benito valley, a rich fruit and nut growng area about thirty miles east of Salinas. He has arvested walnuts, prunes, apricots, garlic, onions, omatoes and other crops. During the winter, when arm work is scarce, he is lucky if he earns $50 a week barely enough to buy food for his wife and nine hildren, much less to pay rent.

Two years ago, Hernandez sued the US Department ›f Agriculture. He claimed that San Benito county's ailure to establish a food stamp program – despite Congress' intention to make food stamps available to eedy persons – discriminated against him solely on he basis of geography. Hernandez was represented ›y lawyers from California Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA) and won his case. As a result there is now a food stamp program in every California county and Iernandez was able to buy $212 worth of food stamps this month for $68. That works out to a food budget ›f 70 cents per day for each member of his family – ıot much, but about 20 cents a day more than he ould afford in 1968. Tens of thousands of other impoverished families are also eating a little better because of Hernandez's lawsuit.

CRLA lawyers have represented thousands of clients like Hernandez since the agency was founded four years ago. In 1967 they won an injunction temporarily halting the importation of *braceros* who compete with local farmworkers and drive down their wages. CRLA legal action last year compelled the state to enforce its minimum agricultural wage of $1.65 an hour. Another successful case forced the state to provide free milk to 300,000 hungry school children. An appeal pending before the US Supreme Court seeks to declare unconstitutional the exclusion of farmworkers from unemployment insurance programs. Other suits have sought to assure compliance by growers with field sanitation laws and regulations regarding the use of pesticides.

Few of these legal actions have endeared CRLA to the big California growers, the welfare bureaucracy or the state's conservative political figures. And now CRLA is neck-deep in a fight for its life. Last month Governor Reagan vetoed CRLA's $1.8 million fed-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

erally funded budget for 1971 on the grounds that its lawyers failed to represent "the true legal needs of the poor." CRLA will continue only if President Nixon's newly designated anti-poverty chief, Frank Carlucci, overrides Reagan's veto.

Carlucci's decision – and few expect he will reach a decision without guidance from the White House – will tell a lot about the Administration's attitude toward what remains of the war on poverty. Some months ago the former OEO director, Donald Rumsfeld, sought to decentralize the legal services program; he was dissuaded at the last minute by a bloc of liberal senators who feared that local forces, mostly in the South, would trample the program to death. Now Reagan is trying to do just that in California. If Carlucci lets Reagan's veto stand, he will have announced an open hunting season on all anti-poverty programs that are even partially effective in achieving what the war on poverty set out to do – promote peaceful social change within the system.

Reagan's attack on CRLA is both political and philosophical in motivation. With his eye half-cocked on 1972, Reagan is staking out a political position well to the right of Nixon on social issues. Now that the campuses have quieted down, there's mileage, he believes, in picturing the poor as lazy troublemakers intent on gobbling up the taxpayers' hard-earned dollars. He has opposed the President's Family Assistance Plan and challenged the Administration's efforts to increase aid to dependent children. He has cut back on medical and nursing home benefits. Last summer he appointed to head the state anti-poverty agency an obscure Los Angeles lawyer, Lewis K. Uhler, whose chief distinction (if that is the word) lies in having once been a member of the John Birch Society. At his glittering second-term inaugural the other day, the governor announced that slashing state welfare expenditures would be the principal goal of his next administration; the real villains of society, he proclaimed, are those welfare recipients "whose greed is greater than their need." The CRLA veto fits neatly into this down-with-uppity-poor-people posture, and rumor has it that the governor's next target will be San Francisco's highly effective Neighborhood Legal Assistance program.

Like his former comrade-in-arms George Murphy, the governor seems genuinely disturbed at the sight of government agencies being sued by government-paid lawyers; people should not bite the hand that feeds them, or feed the mouths that bite them. Reagan also seems to feel that poor people's "true legal needs" involve only such things as divorces, adoptions and used car problems: unlike rich people, they should not use lawyers to advance their economic interests.

Lewis Uhler is of similar mind. "What we've created in CRLA is an economic leverage equal to that of large corporations," he complains. "Clearly that should not be." Uhler does not propose that corporations be deprived of legal counsel or barred from deducting legal expenses from taxes. "When businesses sue to collect debts or protect patents or challenge government rulings, that's all in the spirit of free enterprise. When farmworkers sue not to change laws but to obtain enforcement of existing laws, such suits constitute harassment."

In support of his veto, Reagan maintains that CRLA is guilty of "gross and deliberate violations of OEO guidelines"; that CRLA lawyers spend too much time defending people charged with crimes, "harassing" public agencies and private businesses, aiding the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and pursuing sweeping class action lawsuits instead of concentrating on the separate problems of individuals.

CRLA has faced such charges before and been exonerated; it is undoubtedly one of the most investigated anti-poverty programs in the country. In 1968 the Government Accounting Office was asked by Congressman Bob Mathias to examine CRLA's alleged ties to UFWOC. GAO reported: "We found no evidence that the grantee was working directly for the union or that the activities we reviewed violated special grant conditions relating to union activities." Last summer an independent 14-man panel under contract to OEO investigated all aspects of CRLA's operations and gave it a clean bill of health. "While not perfect," the panel found, "CRLA is an exemplary legal services program providing a balanced approach between orthodox legal services and highly successful impact litigation." One member of the panel, retired Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark, expressed his high regard for the caliber of CRLA's lawyers. The American Bar Association, the California Bar Association and local bar groups throughout the state also approved of CRLA's efforts and urged refunding for 1971.

Still, CRLA's energetic legal activism over the past few years was bound to have offended many persons, and Reagan's aides have seemingly discovered almost all of them. Early in November, Uhler mailed a questionnaire to about three thousand lawyers and public officials throughout California, asking for information for or against CRLA and invited respondents to reply anonymously if they so desired. Using the ad-

COMING: Stanley Hoffmann discusses how the Vietnam war has affected American friendships in Europe

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

verse responses as leads, a team of investigators from Uhler's Economic Opportunity Office (a federally funded agency whose principal task is to provide technical assistance to California anti-poverty programs) then toured the state for several weeks collecting anti-CRLA affidavits. The result was a 283-page report unveiled by the governor on January 6.

The report is studded with innuendoes, irrelevancies and, to be kind, inaccuracies. Its most sensational charge links CRLA to Angela Davis. "Prior to the [Marin County] court house incident," the report states, ". . . CRLA attorneys interceded at Soledad [prison] in an attempt to arrange a visit for Angela Davis to meet with [George] Jackson," the militant black inmate whose younger brother Jonathan was killed in the Marin County shoot-out. The implication is that CRLA somehow helped put together the alleged conspiracy between Angela Davis and Jonathan Jackson to exchange a kidnapped judge for George Jackson and the two other so-called Soledad Brothers. The report names neither the CRLA attorneys allegedly involved nor the source of the accusation. According to Martin Glick, director of litigation for CRLA, the charge is "totally untrue, a clear case of trying in McCarthy style to prove guilt by association."

Elsewhere the report charges that CRLA funds were used to buy bumper stickers and campaign materials for an unsuccessful Mexican-American candidate for the state assembly. The charge is based entirely on an affidavit signed by a blind man who subsequently disavowed it. Glick says the alleged misallocation of funds "simply never happened."

Another charge, apparently supported by some television news footage, is that a CRLA attorney in Salinas counselled United Farm Workers demonstrators. Glick admits it's possible that some CRLA employees have worked with UFWOC on their own time. CRLA itself, however, has studiously avoided official contact with the union and in fact has been strongly criticized by UFWOC for doing so.

It is not necessary to wade through all the other charges in Reagan's report to grasp the implication: CRLA lawyers are irresponsible, unethical and subversive of the *status quo*. Most of CRLA's 40 attorneys would proudly plead guilty to the last indictment. They would also acknowledge a certain overeagerness and admit that some of their members lack experience. But it is their effectiveness on behalf of the poor, not their failure, that has brought on them the wrath of the governor.

The statistics of CRLA activity are themselves sufficient refutation of Reagan's claim that they have neglected the "true legal needs" of the poor. Of 18,823 legal problems handled by CRLA in 1969-70, the vast majority involved drafting personal documents, negotiating the settlement of private disputes or simply giving advice. Only eight percent of the cases involved court proceedings, and only seven percent of the cases that went to court were class actions. Undeniably, CRLA lawyers have attempted to use the courts as a vehicle for social change, and, because their time was not unlimited, they often turned away divorce cases and worked hardest on class-action suits against the major institutions poor people must deal with. But the notion that class-action cases are not related to the "true legal needs" of the poor is a peculiar one. Most of the problems poor people face are shared by vast numbers of other poor people who don't have the resources to seek legal remedies or the power to seek political ones.

To take the place of CRLA, Reagan has proposed a privately financed Judicare plan under which indigent clients would hire established local attorneys who would then be reimbursed for their services, presumably at rates of $30 or $40 an hour. Such a system, if it ever could be financed (and Reagan has not identified the private sources who would pick up the tab), would not only be a bonanza for small-town lawyers; it would largely do away with ardent legal activism in rural areas.

CRLA's present funding expires at the end of this month. Normally one would expect that the Nixon Administration's original decision to refund CRLA would not be shaken by Reagan's opposition. But Carlucci has stalled, giving rise to doubts. California growers have taken advantage of the delay in refunding to make their feelings known at the White House.

There are factors working in CRLA's favor, however. One is Carlucci's nomination as OEO director, which has yet to be confirmed by the Senate. Senator Alan Cranston temporarily blocked Carlucci's confirmation at the close of the last session of Congress (a move for which he was criticized by California's more moderate Democratic senator, John Tunney) and has warned of a possible fight against the nomination if Reagan's veto is not overturned. Senators Mondale, Kennedy and other friends of the anti-poverty program would undoubtedly add their grit to such a battle. Beyond this, it is felt that Nixon will not be inclined to buckle under to Reagan, and that both Rumsfeld and Robert Finch will recommend renewal of CRLA's grant.

One theory making the rounds is that the Administration will wiggle out of the political crossfire by arranging some kind of a compromise: CRLA might be refunded with stringent restrictions on the types of lawsuits it can bring, or Reagan's veto might be overridden, but only after a lengthy OEO investigation of all his charges. The latter course would tie down the CRLA staff in trivial footwork for months, possibly leave it without a source of income after February 1 and conceivably cause it to disband. Then a new, less activist staff could be hired.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nuclear Power Controversy

Safety

by Ralph E. Lapp

During the past two years the atom, largely exempt from controversy since the days of radioactive fallout, has become the focus of public concern. The nuclear hazard involved is associated with the siting of power reactors for the generation of electricity. The radioactive effluents and fallout from the routine operation of these nuclear plants, together with the water-heating effects of the reactors, have formed the primary basis for public fear. While these fears have fueled the controversy, there has been very little attention given to the problem of nuclear accidents. In this three-part series, the issue of nuclear reactor safety is examined first, because there are many unanswered questions about the siting of more and more, higher-power, nuclear plants closer and closer to cities.

At the outset it should be perfectly clear that a nuclear reactor operating for any length of time constitutes a unique hazard to people and property in its vicinity. The accumulation of immense amounts of radioactivity in the reactor core constitutes a potential threat [1] without precedent in urban life.

The US Atomic Energy Commission is directed by law to promote the development of nuclear power for peacetime benefits, and it also acts as the regulatory agency to control the industrial deployment of nuclear power plants. While there is a certain economy involved in this dual promotional-regulatory role, it introduces a potential conflict of interest. The time has come to split off this regulatory function from the AEC and to transfer it to the newly organized Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). This transfer would favor an independent review of reactor safety and siting and might well serve to extricate the utilities from some of their hang-ups in "going nuclear."

Make no mistake about it, the utilities *are* depending on the atom to supply electric power. Nuclear electric energy has been a long time in coming, especially when one recalls the early postwar optimism about it, but it's here now. The following schedule of nuclear orders illustrates the pace at which utilities are proceeding to buy nuclear power plants:

1966	24 units	19,500,000 kilowatts
1967	30 units	25,000,000 kilowatts
1968	14 units	13,000,000 kilowatts
1969	7 units	7,200,000 kilowatts
1970	15 units	16,400,000 kilowatts

The 1968-69 fall-off in orders reflects overbuying in the previous two years, saturation of the construction capability, and public opposition to nuclear power. It is notable that the 1970 upsurge in orders goes against the tide of environmental opposition and must be due to utility fear of fossil fuel unavailability on terms meeting their cost and pollution restrictions.

Two companies, General Electric and Westinghouse, account for 78 percent of these nuclear orders, and they are probably the only two American firms that have a real grasp of the nuclear safety issue. Both do little safety research with their own funds and the utilities do practically nothing, preferring to spend their money on advertising. For example, Sen. Lee Metcalf (D, Mont.) disclosed last month that in 1969 the utilities spent $323.8 million on sales and advertising against $41 million for research and development.

The AEC had its nuclear safety budget for this year slashed by the Bureau of the Budget and now spends slightly more than $30 million per year in this area. When AEC officials are queried as to why they don't spend more on safety, they admit they should, but claim that industry should pay for it. It's rather late in the day for industry to be safety-researching its nuclear product that is now on order. In the critical area of reactor safety I would prefer to see the work done by the AEC. It has the facilities and the manpower and the real estate for the job. As a constructive suggestion, I propose that the utilities, who will reap the cash rewards of A-power, establish a safety research pool to fund AEC work on reactor safety. An initial annual outlay of $12 million would serve to invigorate AEC activity on projects that have either slowed down or have not seen the light of day.

To understand the present status of reactor safety we have to go back to 1957 and review the sequence of events and change in philosophy attending the evolution of nuclear power risks. Furthermore, we need to know something about reactors themselves.

In March 1957 the AEC published its response to a request from the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy for a study of damage potential from reactor acci-

[1] One high-power reactor operating for one year burns as much nuclear fuel as is consumed in the detonation of more than 1000 Nagasaki A-bombs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dents. It took the form of a 105-page document (WASH-740) titled "Theoretical Possibilities and Consequences of Major Accidents in Large Nuclear Power Plants." The AEC's description of these consequences was sufficiently spectacular to catapult the Congress nto passing the Price-Anderson Act, providing for financial protection and government indemnity in the event of a reactor accident. The AEC undertook but never issued a revision of WASH-740; what appears in the public domain is a letter from AEC Chairman Glenn T. Seaborg to Rep. Chet Holifield, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, dated June 18, 1965. This letter deals with the likelihood of major accidents and their consequences, admits that higher power levels in reactors and longer fuel cycles could produce greater damage (although the likelihood of accidents, it said, "is still more remote") and calls for extension of the Price-Anderson Act.

On October 10, 1957 an atomic accident in the form of a uranium fire took place in England at the Windscale Unit 1 production reactor. Some 20,000 curies of iodine-131 escaped to the atmosphere and the British authorities had to stop milk supplies from farms in an area of 200 square miles downwind of the malfunctioning reactor. This particular hazard had received only passing reference in the AEC-WASH-740 analysis. The Windscale accident shook up officials in Britain and made them sensitive to reactor hazards.

On January 3, 1961 an explosion in the SL-1 reactor, near Idaho Falls, Idaho killed three young men with a blast-radiation effect. The 3000-kilowatt experimental boiling-water reactor blew up when a control rod was mismanaged, producing a power surge in the reactor vessel. Sited remotely at the AEC's National Reactor Testing Station, the SL-1 reactor had its consequences confined to the immediate vicinity, but the accident served notice that no man-made design was foolproof.

Nuclear power reactors were emerging from their research phase and on Feb. 10, 1961 the AEC issued its "Notice of Proposed Guides" requiring that applicants for a permit to construct a power reactor submit a reactor safeguards report including details of the siting. All applicants were required to calculate these three distances:

> "(A) Exclusion area, which is the area surrounding the reactor. Access to this area is under full control of the reactor owner. Residence within this area would normally be prohibited. . . .
>
> "(B) Low population zone, the area immediately surrounding the exclusion area. In this area the number of residents must be small enough so that they could be evacuated or other protective measures taken in the event of a serious accident.
>
> "(C) Population center distance, which is the distance from the reactor to the nearest boundary of a densely populated center containing more than about 25,000 residents."

The whole concept enunciated in this AEC guide to reactor siting was one of minimizing risk through interposition of distance between the reactor and population. Anyone reading the details of how the AEC suggested these distances should be assessed would be convinced that the AEC was steering utilities away from close-to-large-city sites.

Dr. Clifford K. Beck, Deputy Director of Regulation of the Atomic Energy Commission, admitted the no-near-city prohibition in a speech delivered Sept. 25, 1963: "No reactor of high power level can be placed in or near a populated area if there is any substantial likelihood that significant portions of its accumulated wastes could accidentally be released to the environment." But, he went on to add, "there are virtually no sites acceptable, safetywise, if the worst conceivable accident must be assumed. . . ." Dr. Beck's speech was titled: "Engineering Out the Distance Factor." In it he outlined two alternatives to distance – one, design and construction to prevent a major accident from happening, and, two, building in safeguards to contain the consequences of an accident.

Here then was the turning point in reactor safety, in which engineering came to be substituted for distance. What sort of engineering? The details started to flow out of the AEC in 1967 and – this is what worries me – they have been upwelling ever since. New criteria emerge, more unknowns are identified and more research is indicated, *but* all the while more powerful nuclear reactors are being constructed closer to cities.

For example, the AEC issued its "General Design Criteria for Nuclear Power Plant Construction Permits" on July 10, 1967. A total of 70 individual criteria is listed. That high AEC officials harbor their own doubts about reactor safety engineering comes out piecemeal in their speeches or may be read between the lines. (It comes out directly if you talk to AEC personnel at the operating or bench level. Reactor engineers tend to be somewhat habituated to their machines and most utility men are not very well informed about reactors.) None other than the AEC's Director of Regulation, Harold L. Price, put his finger on the real problem in mid-1967 when he said:

> "The basic safety issue presented by metropolitan sites for large power reactors is whether, in lieu of partial dependence on distance from population centers, full reliance can or should be placed on the inherent safety of the reactors and their engineered safety features."

Yet almost at the same time that Mr. Price was identifying the issue, Dr. Seaborg was testifying be-

---

RALPH E. LAPP *is author of* Arms Beyond Doubt. *His article,* Cutting the Pentagon down to Size, *appeared in* The New Republic, *August 29, 1970.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fore the Joint Committee: "While progress has been made in improving the safety of reactors, we need to obtain more experience and data in order to develop criteria for the siting of these units in urban areas." The full extent of the unknowns in reactor safety is revealed in 145 pages of AEC material introduced into congressional testimony in 1967 under the title "Water-Reactor Safety Program: Summary Description." This evidence includes brief descriptions of 100 individual reactor safety studies or projects, some of which were not even under way in 1967. Dr. Seaborg may have had these projects in mind when he testified.

At this point it becomes necessary to define the major physical problem in reactor safety. A nuclear reactor is basically a chain-reacting nuclear core sealed inside a stout pressure vessel which is rigged to permit entry and withdrawal of control rods that determine the power level of the machine. The reactor core consists of about one million pounds of nuclear fuel, control rods, and core structure. Most modern reactors of high power contain their nuclear fuel in the form of about nine million thimble-size pellets distributed in 12 foot long tubes all clustered together in a cylindrical array 11 feet in diameter. The very center of these uranium dioxide pellets is raised to a temperature of 4100°F producing a near-molten condition. The outer surface of the uranium fuel pellet is cooled by the swift passage of water under high pressure – from 1000 to 2250 pounds per square inch. Any interruption of the cooling water imperils the integrity of the fuel element, and it is a prime requirement in reactor engineering that provisions be made for emergency cooling in the event of a loss of coolant.

What is the worst that could happen to cause a reactor to lose its coolant? Experts agree that it would be a double break in the huge pipes that conduct heated water away from the reactor core to a heat exchanger and then return it to the pressure vessel. Should such a pipe rupture occur, the high pressure hot water would gush out and produce what reactor men call a "blowdown." Dr. William K. Ergen of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory headed up a task force that reported out in 1967 with a 226-page analysis "Emergency Core Cooling." Using this as a guide I have sketched the sequence of events in a reactor core following a drastic coolant break on a time schedule as follows:

5 to 10 seconds	Core temperature jumps from 600 to 1500°F in localized sectors.
30 to 50 seconds	Temperature exceeds 2000°F; core structure begins steam reaction and energy release.
50 to 100 seconds	Core attains temperature of 3360°F.
2 minutes	Core collapse begins.
10 minutes	Melt-down debris accumulates in vessel.
1 hour	Probable melt-through of pressure vessel with possible steam explosions.
1 day	Molten mass of reactor material breaks through containment slab.[2]
3 years	Molten material forms 100-foot glob in sand.
11 years	Cool-off of residual material shrinks to 80-foot diameter.

The point to stress here is that emergency core cooling systems which may spray water into or flood the reactor core have to work *within five to 10 seconds* Otherwise one is no longer dealing with a reactor core but with a glowing mass of molten and melting material for which additional cooling or preventive measures are no longer effective. Yet as one reads through the Ergen report the phrases "a matter of speculation" or "it is not known" keep recurring. I have not been able to find any more recent AEC analysis of core-cooling, nor have I come across any overall evaluation of nuclear safety. I therefore urge that a high-level review of reactor safety be made by some independent group such as the National Academy of Engineering, funded by the Environmental Protection Agency.

No more important engineering challenge exists today than making sure that the reactors coming into use conform to a rigid set of codes so that the public safety is assured for the coming decades of nuclear power. The National Academy should establish a permanent Nuclear Power Safety Board whose first mission would be an evaluation of the status of reactor safety. The Academy already has a task force working on reactor siting and the new responsibility would be a natural addition to its present activity, involving however a much higher-powered organization to investigate the safety issue. This recommendation is in line with the example set by the British, who established a Nuclear Safety Advisory Committee with appointments to it being made by responsible Ministers. Incidentally, British siting policy emphasizes controlled population adjacent to reactors and thorough evacuation planning for zones closest to the site.

My basic reason for proposing an independent review of reactor safety is that the question of "How much safety?" is a public not an AEC matter. I would not impose a moratorium on reactor construction, because nuclear safety is a combination of reactor design and siting. Reactor safety is essentially a statis-

[2] Reactor experts use the phrase *Chinese Syndrome* to describe the possibility that a liquid sodium-cooled core might break through confinement and keep sinking in the earth – China-bound.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tical concept. For example, the Calvert Cliffs nuclear station being built on Chesapeake Bay 46 miles southeast of the White House has fewer than 200 people living within a two-mile radius and the nearest large town is Cambridge, 20 miles across the bay. This contrasts with the two nuclear units New Jersey's Public Service & Electric plans to site at Newbold Island in the Delaware River, five miles south of Trenton and 10 miles north of Philadelphia. A 1985 projection puts the population at risk within a 10-mile radius of Newbold Island as three-quarter of a million people. An AEC construction permit for this plant was applied for last March.

The AEC procedure for granting a construction permit is a democratic one in that it allows for a public hearing. The utility is required to file a detailed Preliminary Safety Analysis Report (PSAR) which is then scrutinized by the AEC's regulatory staff. This safety review often takes a year and involves many conferences with the utility experts, often the vendor's people, but unfortunately these exchanges do not appear on the record. Furthermore, the AEC subjects the PSAR and the regulatory staff study to independent review by its Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards (ACRS), a highly competent group of 14 nuclear experts. ACRS has the guillotine power of decision on a construction permit for a reactor. ACRS approval is often contingent upon the utility making changes in plant design and its reports pinpoint weak points in reactor safety, some of which indicate a need for further research and development.

Public hearings prior to the granting of a construction permit involve a three-man AEC tribunal selected from a 23-man Atomic Safety and Licensing Board Panel. Citizens and associations are allowed to appear as intervenors at public hearings and in some cases these interventions have produced lengthy delays in granting a permit. Finally, the AEC allows for public hearings prior to awarding an operations license, and a number of nuclear plants are now hanging fire because of intervention at this stage. Many issues get aired at these hearings, but that of reactor safety is extremely difficult for an intervenor to explore; he must bow to the judgment of the experts – almost all of whom are employed by the AEC, by the reactor manufacturer or by the utility.

When AEC Chairman Seaborg says, as he did before an AP editors' convention on Nov. 19, 1970: "We know that the benefits we gain will far outnumber the risks of the potential hazards," then I submit the "we" is not all of "us."

I do not make the charge that the AEC is imposing an unsafe system of nuclear power on the nation; I submit that the public record is not visible to substantiate public confidence in the AEC's assurance. It's deeply disturbing to read in the Oak Ridge National Laboratory *Review* an article on "Benefits vs. Risks in Nuclear Power – A logical, facts-and-figures comment on the current anti-atom literature," by ORNL Assistant Director Walter Jordan:

> "The $64 million question still remains, and that is whether we have succeeded in reducing the risk to a tolerable level – i.e., something less than one chance in ten thousand that a reactor will have a serious accident in any year. Thus when we have 100 nuclear power stations in operation, not too far in the future, an accident once every hundred years might be expected."

But before the year 2000 we will probably have 500 nuclear reactors of one million kilowatt rating, and it would appear a certainty we will have a serious nuclear accident – and by that time population, if uncontrolled, will hem in our reactor sites. To call it a $64 million question is to sadly underestimate the hazard and to make a mockery of the Price-Anderson Act. Dr. Jordan concludes his article:

> "We and the public should be prepared to face the possibility of a nuclear accident, just as we live with the possibility of major earthquakes which will exact a large toll in property and lives."

This time the "we" is separated from the public, but this gap between the nuclear community and the public is precisely the reason for worrying about a nuclear accident. Even a mini-accident could roadblock the future course of nuclear power.

The nation needs power, clean power, and I believe it is not beyond our technological capabilities to design, site and operate nuclear power plants *and* insure the public safety. But as we, meaning all of us, enter into the nuclear decades, it is essential that the record is clear – that we, not just a few experts in a closed community, audit the nuclear books and lay the basis for public confidence in our nuclear future. As a constructive way of proceeding, I propose the following:

► Establishment of a permanent Nuclear Power Safety Board to study and report on the status of nuclear reactor safety. This body would recommend a national policy on reactor safeguards and siting.

► Imposition of a ceiling on reactor electric power ratings, limiting output to 1,200,000 kilowatts of electric power. This restriction has the effect of limiting the accident consequences of a nuclear plant.

► Intensification of reactor safety research and development at AEC sites, aided by funds supplied by the nuclear utilities. This activity would encompass *full-scale* operational testing of reactor components.

► Prohibition of AEC construction permits for nuclear plants with a near-metropolitan siting posture like the Newbold Island units.

► Separation of the regulatory function from the AEC with assignment of this responsibility to the Environmental Protection Agency.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on films

Investigation of a Citizen Above Suspicion

(Columbia)

And Others

That picture with the long title arrives from Italy decorated with several prizes and an epigraph from Kafka. They don't help. *Investigation* makes strenuous efforts at allegorical resonance, but is fuzzy throughout and finally fizzles. Its subject is power, the worship and the magic of power. The symbols are vivid and promising, but, as is often the case with allegory, they arrest more immediate attention than they finally justify. This fool's-gold aspect of allegory applies to several arts but nowhere more than to film, where there is often an eager rush of gratitude for the mere attempt at seriousness.

The screenplay, by Ugo Pirro and Elio Petri, deals with a Roman police inspector, and begins on his last day as head of the homicide bureau, just as he becomes head of the political section. (Chords beginning to sound already? Just by the juxtaposition of those two terms? See how easy it is?) He has a mistress with whom he has often played the kinky sex-game of reenacting various murders. This day he really murders her, and deliberately leaves clues leading to himself. His private frigid joke is to prove to himself that, just because he is who he is, police action will be paralysed. The bloodhounds will refuse to believe their own noses because the trail leads to a person of authority and status. Add to the story that the one person who knows the murderer's identity is a young revolutionary, and the allegory switches have clicked, the motors start to hum.

But it all burns out. First, because the script out-clevers itself. Not satisfied with all the potentially useful apparatus listed above, the authors insist further that the inspector is also impotent, or at least sexually unreliable. This is supposed to show the even hollower hollowness of the power facade, I guess, but it sinks the symbolic ship. We wonder at once why his hot-breathing mistress wanted to play charades – was, in fact, the sex slave – of a man who couldn't complete the sex act. Worse, it ruins the allegory. It is one subject to show the magical effect of authority; it is quite another to show power as a substitute for sexual potency; and the two ideas battle each other.

But even with a consistent and developing script, the film would flatten, because Elio Petri, who also directed, has become a man of flash and filigree. Some of his early work had simple, direct address, but the same curious thing has happened to him that has happened to two other Italian directors who, like Petri are political radicals, Pasolini and Bertolucci: they have all moved from concerned art to arty concerns. Petri's last previous film, *A Quiet Place in the Country*, was as sterile a farrago of audio-visual smartness as *Performance* (with Mick Jagger). Here there are still traces of psychedelic whoring, but in addition, almost every sequence is lacquered with obtrusive egocentric pride in the way it looks. (The last shot through the lowering shutters, for instance.)

And the performance of the inspector, by Gian Maria Volontè, is in quite the wrong vein. He is strident and vulgar, with no conviction of the cold pseudo-Nietzschean mind that would concoct such a scheme, with no steel edge in his tone. The part needed Mastroianni or Gabriele Ferzetti (*The Confession*) or Massimo Girotti (*Teorema*). Volontè is just a coarse, bullying cop, and he helps a lot to put the picture at a far remove, where we see what was intended but what does not arrive.

In *Custer Died for Your Sins* Vine Deloria Jr. says:

> America has yet to keep one Indian treaty or agreement despite the fact that the United States government signed over four hundred such treaties and agreements with Indian tribes.

This is the underlying theme of *Flap*, written by Clair Huffaker from his novel *Nobody Loves a Drunken Indian*. Which gives us our second pro-Indian, anti-white film in a month. (The other, *Little Big Man*, is based on one of the few books about Indians that Deloria recommends.)

Flap is a corny, ill-made picture full of tedious movie brawls. It takes considerable time to get started, and it misses no chance for familiar cinematic pattern – in fights or bordello hijinks or stuff with a bucking horse. Further, the color – at least in the print being shown in New York – is deplorable. Yet the picture has a root effect, and makes its slow, cinematically sentimental way along a hard, unsentimental base.

In brief, it tells the present-day story of a small symbolic uprising led by Flapping Eagle, a drunken, loafing ex-World War II sergeant – the doomed effort he makes to help his harassed and cheated friends on the reservation to get their rights. All the gestures of plot and camera are stale, but a core of residual truth comes through because of the quality of some of the performances.

By rights Anthony Quinn ought to be just a big bore by now – he's been so hearty and male and ethnic for so long. But, damn it, he's *good* – at least from time to time. He's been good as an Eskimo, a Greek, an Italian, and several Mexicans, and as this Indian, he's good again. He not only has the technique and power to sustain the big moments, he has the intensity of imagination to root the character in quiet reality. Once in a while I found myself asking, "Does Quinn really know where he is, or has he just been off-camera, between takes, phoning his agent in Madrid about the picture after next?"; but then I watched him *listening* to another actor in a two-shot, and he listened like Flapping Eagle. He makes no smallest move except as Flapping Eagle – or rather as Flap dramatized.

There are pleasant performances by Tony Bill and Claude Akins as other Indians, but there is an absolutely knockout performance by, of all people, Victor Jory. He used to be my idea of a stock-company leading man, not improved by such Broadway work as his John Gabriel Borkman some twenty years ago. Here he is Wounded Bear, a toothless, leathery, snappy old correspondence-school lawyer, who spends most of his time burrowing in old treaties for Indian rights, and he is simply fine. Unlike most actors, Jory is growing, late in his career, and I

(Continued on page 33)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Richard Poirier: The Ups and Downs of Mailer

Of a Fire on the Moon
by Norman Mailer

Little, Brown; $7.95)

or well over a decade now, Norman Mailer has been obsessed with what he akes to be the deepening schizophrenia of America. He was probing the ssue in 1954, when he complained hat David Reisman did not seem "to ıave the faintest idea that there is an ınconscious direction to society as well ıs to the individual, and that, just as nany phenomena proceed in society at wo levels, so a particular man or as asily all Americans can believe conciously that they are superior to advertising while in fact they suffer an ınconscious slavery which influences hem considerably." By 1968 and *The Armies of the Night*, when every choolboy had heard that the media were mind snatchers, Mailer had ushed beyond; he had by then reshuffled some rather tired sociological bstractions into an allegorical morality play. "Any man or woman who was levoutly Christian and worked for the American Corporation," he claimed, 'had been caught in the unseen vise vhose pressure could split their mind rom their soul. For the center of Christianity was a mystery, a son of God, and the center of the corporation vas a detestation of mystery, a worship of technology."

These few sentences offer a brief but elling illustration of a habit, conspicuus in *Of a Fire on the Moon*, that ıakes Mailer, often the most exciting of contemporary American writers, ometimes the most fudging one. His nind, lurching into its metaphors, lets ıtself be taken for a ride, and if he weren't at the same time involved with owdy stuff, these inveterate literary xcursions, these trippings out on the ınes of his own hyperboles would give ıim even more of a Jamesian tinge than ıe already has. Note how the designaıon, "any devoutly Christian" man or voman, is distended into something alled "the center of Christianity" (a phenomenon even harder to locate on the tattered theological map of this nation than the devout Christians). His proposition thus bloated, Mailer can then propose a struggle on a national scale between "mystery" (as if that, or the suffering of Christ, were a notable feature of Christianity in America) with the so-called corporation, which has meanwhile become synonymous with "technology."

Out of such legerdemain great novels may be written, even the plays of Shakespeare, but not when, as here, the materials at hand are so free floating. And to write history in Mailer's style requires even more strenuous efforts with language than does the writing of a novel or a play. Having more claims to preexistent forms of reality than novels do, history will give up the shape it has assumed to some other shape only under enormous stylistic (or scholarly) pressure. In the absence of such pressure, we're left to contemplate only the failure of the efforts to exert it, to study the drama of confrontation between a doughty self and resistant historical forces.

Mailer is not satisfied with any such retrenchment of our interest, however. His books are about Mailer, to be sure, about the man as he writes history as well as about the man who tried to participate in its making. But they are meant also to reveal the true nature of the historical events and issues with which he has involved himself. Similarly, while his metaphors do reveal the workings of his mind, in its probing, contradictory, fluid movement, they also, he would insist, expose the reality of America. He'll settle for nothing less. It's a heroic ambition, but except in the special circumstances of *Armies*, where the nature of his participation in events is beautifully synchronized with his writing about them, the ambition is seldom achieved. Mailer is more often than not the overreacher of his times.

His metaphoric and melodramatic versions of society and history are of course full of revelations; they tell us more than would a Mailer gone sane and sedate. While not denying that, I'm trying to locate the particular cost, in this latest book, of some of his now settled ways of performing. It might be said that a writer more "responsible" than he would also be potentially freer. There is nothing more seductively entrapping than a repetitive commitment to one's own inventions. It is not the weak, but rather the exceptionally strong writer, a Mailer or a Faulkner or a Hemingway, who finds himself eventually constrained by the persuasiveness of his own fictions, his own metaphors, his own stylistic manners. These come to dominate his mind, to tether the imagination far more than the "reality" they were meant to displace.

Of a Fire on the Moon suffers precisely because he has come to believe so staunchly in the orthodoxy of what he has already written, to believe so literally in his own metaphors, and in the efficacy of his peculiar management of them. They are almost invariably laid down in pairs, for example, in a dualism, like "mystery" and "technology." Each side is imagined tied to the other in a continual struggle. As a consequence, these tensed pairings express for him the schizophrenia he finds in the country and, as a responsible part of it, in himself. But they do much more than that: their interaction is a stay against the complete disruption of the American community and of communication among its parts. In this respect, as in others, Mailer's style is a conservative rather than a radical instrument. The induced give-and-take between the factions is a necessary alternative to a more dreadful possibility: a drawing apart of the factions, the end of any dialectical relationship between them. The consequences would be either the one-dimensionality which is the condition predicted for us in *Of a Fire on the Moon*, or revolution, the dread eventuality in *Armies*. Revolution for Mailer would mean that he could no longer live *within* his dualisms, no longer partake of the characteristics of both sides; he would be either the one-dimension- the country and of himself, and in the choice would be final madness. This commitment to necessary oppositions, both as a form of writing and as a form of society, has so far been given its most eloquent expression in *Armies*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

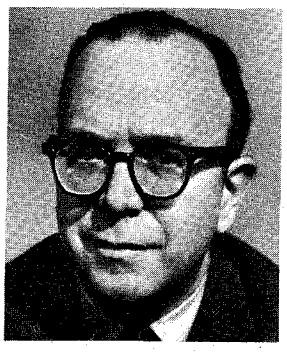


Photo: G.D. Hackett

Robert L. Heilbroner—
who transformed economics from a dismal science to an exciting and understandable one—has written an extraordinary new book.

Until Robert Heilbroner came along, economics was a rather austere science, lost in its own facts and figures. Heilbroner gave it social relevance by using it to illuminate the problems that affect our daily lives.

In this collection of essays, he expands our economic vision still further, exploring the major economic problems facing both the highly-developed and the underdeveloped nations of the world.

Here is Heilbroner on the revolution, on the ecological challenge, on the impact of technology, on the psychology of acquisition, on anti-Americanism, on Marxism, on the views of A. A. Berle and J. K. Galbraith — and much more. "This is one of the best essay collections on the subject, and is recommended widely." — LIBRARY JOURNAL

BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM
ESSAYS IN POLITICAL ECONOMICS
BY ROBERT L. HEILBRONER
$7.95, clothbound; $1.95, paperbound
Now at your bookstore
RANDOM HOUSE

where the language shuttles back and forth over the various conflicting elements, political and stylistic, with almost unflagging assurance – but in the moon book the shuttling becomes mechanical.

To put it crudely, the first and last sections of *Of a Fire on the Moon* are given to the Mailer who is a theoretical champion of imagination, mystery, and the language of Shakespeare; the long middle section to Mailer who studied hard and can now hold his own in the world of space technology. Anyone familiar with Mailer's work, and especially with the dualisms that have dominated it with so few modifications since the mid-fifties, will find that the new book offers few surprises. Following are some examples of the dualisms to which Mailer had already committed himself and which have in turn committed him to some of the literary and political positions of the new book.

(Hip and Square) This famous division of national styles, now fifteen years old, is especially operative in Mailer's observations about corporation executives who, at news briefings, show the injurious evidence of living "the double life of Americans."

(God and the Devil) There are many carry-overs from *An American Dream*, also a kind of moon book (its hero has "a frightened romance with the phases of the moon"); and in both works God and the Devil are repeatedly said to be in competition for the contributory energies of man. Cherry guesses in the novel what Mailer guesses here: maybe the "Devil gets most of the best messages we think we're sending up."

(The Human Body and the Machine) Quite awhile before Mailer pictured Neil Armstrong, "sitting in the commander's seat, space suit on, helmet on, plugged into electrical and environmental umbilicals" as "a machine himself in the links of the networks," he claimed in "The Twelfth Presidential Paper," echoing Reich, that the biological organism is in some sort of struggle with technological forces and already in part possessed by them.

(Language and Technologese) The language of Shakespeare, which finds no place in the Mission Control Center outside Houston, had already been nearly silenced in the Dallas of *Why are We in Vietnam?* by the programmed rant pouring out of the electrified mind of disc jockeys, and by the nomenclatures, much like NASA's, of Corporations and rifle catalogues.

(Odors and Deodorants) Odors have always been Mailer's sign of funky life, of natural decay. It is supposedly our link to that "earlier human," now ourselves, to whom he offers an anticipatory eulogy at the end of this book, a human "so much closer to an animal" than are the predicted "pilot men of an electrical and interplanetary world." Odors were already being phased out in *Armies*, however, by "totalitarianism, the deodorant of nature."

(Obscenity and Concepts) Perhaps more important than odors to Mailer as a writer is the possible demise of the verbal equivalent of odors, blasphemies and dirty words. Since World War II, obscenity has lost those enlivening powers that Mailer wistfully remembers in *Armies* as part of the language of his buddies: "all the gifts of the American language came out in the happy play of obscenity upon concept, which enabled one to come back to concept again."

This latter remark offers an important further clue to Mailer's mostly successful play with the dualities of the earlier book. By abrasions, one side of any division does help in *Armies* to enliven the other. Mailer is to be found somewhere between them, his opinions oscillating with his style, his own "conceptual" talk continually corrected by sudden, slangy intrusions. His political position cannot be distinguished from his stylistic one in this area. He thinks of his love for the Southern boys who served with him, but whose sons now stand against him, guarding the Pentagon, and he has just come from the Washington home, where he was gracious if ill at ease, of the kind of liberal, bureaucratic, technocratic, concept-ridden Wasps who will be his new "buddies" in this new army. Making it one of the most anxiously, sadly patriotic books in our literature, Mailer's perplexities in *Armies* are as culturally and stylistically rewarding to his writing as are any of the comparable perplexities of Yeats.

Yet roughly the same position operates to his disadvantage in *Of a Fire on the Moon*, which is, I think, a quite messy performance. Everything he wrote before made it likely that he would have to write about the moon shot; but what was not required of him was that he meet the challenge with techniques used in earlier and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

esser confrontations. The landing on he moon raised for him an old ques-ion: what will finally be left to the iterary imagination by the exploita-ions of science? In combination with very political, financial, and indus-trial institution in America, science nas empowered technology to the point where it can invade the very symbol of romance and dream. Such big words, such a tired issue – it's really a factitious and phoney issue, I suspect. The real issue is how well it, like any myth or fiction, can be ex-plored, especially by a writer who has already locked himself into those meta-phors, those dualisms, those large turns of mind which dictated that this was the question he would want to ask.

It's to the point that the best parts of the book are the ones most freed of Mailer's larger ambitions. Some part of him seemingly wants less to reinstate magic and romance than, deeply, to get away from the lure of them, like Rojack at the end of *An American Dream* who "wanted to be free of magic, the tongue of the Devil, the dread of the Lord . . . to be some sort of rational man again, nailed tight to details." His most impressive per-formances are descriptive ones, which isn't to join the tiresome chorus of those who step away from the diffi-culties of his achievement by saying that he is a great journalist and a lesser novelist. The distinction, not much good to begin with, is trivializ-ing in the case of a writer who reveals here a genius for even the quickest characterizations (Frank McGee is said to have a "personality all rem-iniscent . . . of a coach of a rifle team"), for casual but packed analo-gies that Lowell might envy ("what if the moon were as quiet as the fish-erman when he lays the fly on the water"), for Proustian social observa-tion (as in his account of an evening at the Houston home of European friends). And he is sometimes close to Lawrence in his capacity for imag-inative drifts and extensions, all the while being moved forward by what seem to be the accidental associations of language. Not in his intellectual superstructurings, but in these more open evidences of his powers as a writer is assurance enough that the Machine has not yet collapsed the lan-guage or stilled the imagination. His magnificent description, the product of intense research, of the cratered face of

She Needs Your Love

Little Mie-Wen in Formosa already knows many things . . . the gnawing of hunger . . . the shivering of fear . . . the misery of being unwanted.

But she has never known love. Her mother died when she was born. Her father was poor—and didn't want a girl child. So Mie-Wen has spent her baby years without the affection and security every child craves.

Your love can give Mie-Wen, and children just as needy, the privileges you would wish for your own child.

Through Christian Children's Fund you can sponsor one of these youngsters. We use the word spon-sor to symbolize the bond of love that exists between you and the child.

The cost? Only $12 a month. Your love is demonstrated in a practical way because your money helps with nourishing meals . . . medical care . . . warm clothing . . . education . . . understanding housemothers . . .

And in return you will receive your child's personal history, photograph, plus a description of the orphanage where your child lives. You can write and send packages. Your child will know who you are and will answer your letters. Cor-respondence is translated at our overseas offices.

(If you want your child to have a spe-cial gift—a pair of shoes, a warm jacket, a fuzzy bear—you can send your check to our office, and the *entire amount* will be forwarded, along with your instruc-tions.)

Will you help? Requests come from orphanages every day. And they are urgent. Children wrapping rags on their feet, school books years out of date, milk supplies exhausted, babies abandoned by unwed mothers.

Since 1938, thousands of American sponsors have found this to be an inti-mate person-to-person way of sharing their blessings with youngsters around the world.

Little Mie-Wen and children like her need your love—won't you help? Today?

Sponsors urgently needed this month for children in: India, Brazil, Taiwan (Formosa) and Hong Kong. (Or let us select a child for you from our emer-gency list.)

Write today: Verent J. Mills

CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, Inc.

Box 511, Richmond, Va. 23204

I wish to sponsor ☐ boy ☐ girl in (Country) _____
☐ Choose a child who needs me most.
I will pay $12 a month.
I enclose my first payment of $_____.
Send me child's name, story, address and picture.
I cannot sponsor a child but want to give $_____.
☐ Please send me more information.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Registered (VFA-080) with the U. S. Government's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. Gifts are tax de-ductible. Canadians: Write 1407 Yonge, Toronto 7

NR4010

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the moon excels anything made available in words or pictures by the machined men of the Apollo flights.

The book is messed up by ambitions in excess of what is done brilliantly. Too much of it is put on loan to one dualism or another: technology and intuition, the Sanitary-Lobe and the Wild-Lobe nesting together in every American, technological reality and the reality of death, Von Braun as a man of opposites, NASA as having in it the sound of Nazi even though technology and Nazism may be inimical to one another, the space program as insane or noble, "a search for the good, or the agent of diabolisms yet unglimpsed." On and on it goes. Faced with what seems to me the inescapable fact that the astronauts, differences among them waived, are by nature as well as conditioning rather flat-minded fellows, Mailer is momentarily bewildered. What to do with material so unyielding, so uniform? Old ways of facing new problems produce old questions and answers, but he goes ahead anyway; divide and conquer. Divide the material, argue the differences, reach a kind of stalemate and call it a "mystery."

It is by such means that the book gets hooked on the subject of dreams. After all, the only life other than the irredeemably evident one that Mailer can propose for men of such rectitude has to be in the unconscious. Besides, giving them a double life, however spurious, lets him speculate that to dwell, as they do, "in the very center of technological reality . . . yet to inhabit – if only in one's dreams – that other world where death, metaphysics and the unanswerable questions of eternity must reside, was to suggest natures so divided that they could have been the most miserable and unbalanced of men if they did not contain in their huge contradictions some of the profound and accelerating opposites of the century itself."

Having decided to create a division in the astronauts by populating their unconscious, he must then up the ante still more: their unconscious can't be individuated; it must instead contain the historical, metaphysical, and social components Mailer needs for the on-going rhetoric of his book. Obviously he wouldn't allow their dreams to be the result of anything so merely personal as sublimation. While he can't supply it, he must therefore call for a theory of dreams beyond Freud, thus showing, if only for a moment, his alignment with a kind of intellectual who thinks that questions not answered by Freud or Marx have not yet even been asked. But there's more to come. Once he's escalated his terms to this point, Mailer is scarcely going to settle for the idea that the voyage itself represents merely a larger, corporate effort at the sublimation "of aggressive and intolerably inhuman desires." Even as he allows that possibility, he prefers to divide the matter more ostentatiously: the astronauts and their flight may be the instrument of "celestial and satanic endeavors."

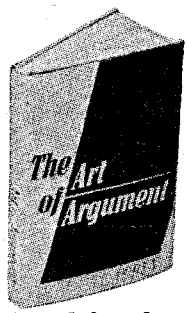
I don't think I am being unfair in schematizing what might be called the incremental technique of Mailer's writing. But why, it still has to be asked, must he engage in these banal acts of cosmic division? Their function is best understood, and made altogether less debilitating, I suspect, if the reader takes them less as part of the substance of the book than its necessary fuel, its lubricant even. They get him moving, get him involved and boosted to a level of intensity where he will then be able to produce the masterful straight stuff in the book, like his description of the Vehicle Assembly Building at Cape Canaveral. He even admits to the opportunistic side of his practices: "It was somehow superior," he explains, to think of the flight in cosmic rather than in less exalting terms, and when he wants to claim that the trip is meant to "reveal some secret in the buried tendencies of our history," he has to agree in the next paragraph that "such remarks are large, they are grand, they roll off into the murk of metaphysical storm." (Been reading Melville lately?) The book is tricked out with such near disclaimers, near apologies for its own inflations.

I'm not necessarily opposed to inflation, as what admirer of *King Lear* could be, or to sophomoric explanations that Mailer is showing what it's like to take a space trip in the mind. I don't even object to what Mailer at one point proposes as the justification for the scale of his enterprise: "a first reconnaissance into the possibility of restoring magic, psyche, and the spirits of the underworld to the spookiest venture in history, a landing on the moon, an event whose technologese had been so complete that the word 'spook' probably did not appear in twenty million words of NASA prose." It's simply that in this book Mailer proves less a Prospero of *The Tempest* than a Glendower of *Henry IV*, though a Glendower shrewd enough to anticipate the repost to his claim that he "can call spirits from the vasty deep": "Why, so can I, or so can any man;/ But will they come when you do call them?"

I suppose it could be said that the book is meant to demonstrate why there will never be now in America the revolution feared in *Armies*. The Wasps have won by default, those "Faustian, barbaric, draconian, progress-oriented, and root-destroying people." They are coming into control of evolution, and the literary imagination, with all the odors and obscenities that nourish it, is at last obsolete, with this book itself as one of its final records, as Christopher Lehman-Haupt has suggested. The last chapter almost says as much. It's more likely, though, that only Mailer's standard routines have become obsolete. I think they probably have. Besides, the points where he is not doing his routines show that he still can, in his own phrase, "climb to capture the language again." He and not the space program, not Technology, is responsible for making the climb harder than it need be by carrying intellectual luggage that is always heavy, usually excess, and now manifestly a hindrance.

U.S.A. Coin Guide
Show the value of over 1400 United States coins. Only $1.00
BELLS COIN SHOP
Box 276
Tolleson, Arizona 85353

How to Argue and Win!



Here is a clear simply written basic guide to logical thinking, showing how to spot the fallacies, the prejudices and emotionalism, the inappropriate analogies, etc., in the other fellow's argument and how to watch for and avoid the irrational in your own judgments. The author makes plain not only *how* but also *why* people resist facing the truth.

A tool for *clear thinking* as well as for *convincing others.* ORDER NOW:
THE ART OF ARGUMENT
By Giles St. Aubyn
$4.95, plus 25¢ handling 10-Day Money-Back Guar.
EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 103-T
251 West 19 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULES FEIFFER

THE WAY THEY TREAT P.O.W.S IS—
BARBARIC!
THE WAY WE TREAT P.O.W.S IS—
HUMANE!
THEIR TERRORISM SHOWS—
A CALLOUS DISREGARD FOR HUMAN LIFE!
OUR BOMBING RAIDS SHOW—
A DESIRE TO SHORTEN THE WAR AND BRING THE TROOPS HOME!
THE WAY THEY NEGOTIATE IS—
DECEITFUL, UNFRUITFUL, AND OFFERS NOTHING NEW!
THE WAY WE NEGOTIATE IS—
IN GOOD FAITH!
1-31
©1971 JULES FEIFFER
NOW, THIS IS WHAT I CALL A REALLY SUCCESSFUL PRESS CONFERENCE.
THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT!

Dist. Publishers-Hall Syndicate

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Townsend Hoopes: Inexorable Military Dynamics

The Pentagon Propaganda Machine by Senator J. W. Fulbright

(Liveright; $4.95)

Senator Fulbright has labeled this modest but biting little volume "an instructional manual", designed to make his Senate colleagues and the public-at-large "aware of the multi-faceted and quietly pervasive nature of the Defense Department's public relations activity." While it contains nothing basically unknown to other senators, congressmen, civilian officials of the State and Defense Departments, Washington journalists and television commentators, they are the people who should read it with the greatest care, for two reasons: (1) even they may be surprised at the scope and relentless intensity of the military public relations effort which Senator Fulbright has diligently, if not systematically, compiled here; and (2) there is serious need for them to apply their collective countervailing influence if the country is to "halt, then turn back the incursions the military have made in our *civilian* system."

The major military PR activities identified and discussed in this book constitute a long list of particulars. The items vary widely in their political consequence and thus in the support they provide for the author's main conclusion that "militarism as a philosophy poses a distinct threat to our democracy." The book does not always clearly distinguish between those activities which present a serious Constitutional danger and those which are merely irritating features of a large, rich bureaucracy; occasionally, it descends into petulance and appears to be straining at gnats. Without question, however, it makes a strong case for the assertion that the military services have become "ardent and effective competitors for power in American society."

Near the innocuous end of the spectrum of self-promotional activities should be placed the Air Force and Navy acrobatic flying teams and the Army parachute team which are used to enliven county fairs and similar events for the rather undisguised purpose of assisting recruiting efforts. In the category of moderate concern should be placed the civilian tour programs conducted by each service, and the similar VIP conferences sponsored by the Secretary of Defense. These involve in each case a carefully planned, well-orchestrated demonstration of new military hardware, current operating efficiencies, and exposure (superficial) to the civilian and military leaders at the Pentagon. With a few notable exceptions, these unfurlings of the military panoply for the purpose of persuading the nation's opinion leaders that the military establishment is a comforting thing to have around can be defended as falling within the definition of legitimate information programs. It is true of course that they are not inexpensive and are not open to all citizens.

Of far more serious political concern are military activities that aim not merely at demonstrating a basis for public confidence in the nation's armed forces, but at promoting the military position on particular and controversial public issues, at "educating" the American people about foreign threats and in the matter of civic duty – in short, at intervening pervasively in the decision-making process (which is to say the politics) of both domestic and foreign affairs. This category includes a large number of slanted films in defense of the Vietnam involvement (produced under budgets provided by Congress for "troop information," but also used by half the television stations in the country at no charge to them); an endless stream of carefully instructed speech-makers (often delivering canned material); unsubtle efforts to stimulate articles by scientists in favor of MIRV and ABM; and a pitch to local towns that adoption of the high school ROTC program "automatically guarantees the community well groomed male student body."

One of the more blatant intrusion into the process of public education i the National Security Seminar prc gram conducted as a kind of rovin two-week extension course by person nel of the Industrial College of th Armed Forces. Originally addressed t reserve officers with wartime assigr ments related to industrial mobiliza tion, the seminars are now provide for all interested citizens, often unde the sponsorship of local Chambers o Commerce. They are heavily weighte with polemics on foreign affairs, cov ering topics from Southeast Asia an geopolitics to Communist China an comparative political systems. Th bogeyman of the "worldwide Commu nist conspiracy" is the basic premis for much of the analytical presenta tion. Senator Fulbright finds most o these lectures "simplistic, often out dated, and factually incorrect," an concludes that their poor quality alon is sufficient justification for abolishin the program. But the real issue o course lies elsewhere: "It is not proper function of the Department o Defense to educate civilians on foreig policy issues or to teach them to b better citizens, even if the materia presented is completely objective which is frequently not the case."

How did we come to this situation i which a disciplined, patriotic, energetic professional military group now presse against the traditional boundaries o military activity, and appears to be a ever expanding influence in our so ciety? The essence of the answer, a Senator Fulbright recognizes, lies i one phrase, "The Cold War." In period characterized by pervasive ideo logical challenge and by rapidly de veloping military technology, we per ceived a mortal threat to the basi values of our civilization, and judge that a constantly superior military forc was a fundamental condition of sur vival. This led to a congressional def erence to the Executive Branch tha soon became ingrained abdication; i led on to an unprecedented delegatio of authority to the foreign affairs military bureaucracies, who becam the principal agents of the containmen strategy. One effect was greatly to ex pand the size and the policy role of th military establishment in a situatio where the interdependence of political military, and economic factors wa recognized, and where the prevailing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ational mind-set tended to harmonize nd thus weaken the normal adversary elationships within our system. The esulting unhealthy spread of military ıfluence in our society is not attributble to villainous conspiracy, but to the ıexorable dynamics of bureaucratic rowth and self-justification. The remdy lies not in castigation, but in prulent measures to restore a proper ıalance.

As Senator Fulbright proposes, the ıractical answer lies in more precise, ıore insistent legislative control over he sprawling public relations and pubıc information efforts of the military stablishment. A precedent exists in the ongressional prohibition upon the lomestic distribution of materials developed by the United States Informaıon Agency. Applying that precedent, Congress could proscribe certain types ıf military activities, establish tighter xpenditure ceilings on others, and xercise a more penetrating surveillance ıver the whole range of actions in his area. There is no warrant, in his view, for (1) courses to "educate" the ıeople regarding the dangers of Comnunism, (2) self-promotional films and elevision shows produced for comnercial use, (3) or military speakers (at the rate of 1000 per month) addressing luncheon clubs and veterans ırganizations from Florida to Oregon all at the taxpayer's expense. Activiies like the VIP civilian tours should, n his view, be controlled by tight fiıancial ceilings, established by Congress and faithfully administered by civilian leaders at the Pentagon. Reinforcement from newspapers, the radio-TV networks, and a more alert public opinion would help immeasurably.

To charges that such efforts to prune this luxuriant growth would muzzle the military, Senator Fulbright gives the sound answer that the nation's confidence in its armed forces is based on a prestige and integrity that can be maintained only so long as they adhere to the tradition of nonpolitical professionalism. He believes President Johnson's decision to bring General Westmoreland to Washington for the purpose of defending that Administration's Vietnam policy before a joint session of the Congress was a serious mistake – because it had the effect of dragging the military into the political arena and thus of making it an unavoidable target of partisan attack.

The basic need is to bring the military establishment back under political control, to remove it from areas of activity in which it can have no legitimate role in a democratic society, to restrain it in other areas where the sheer magnitude of its available resources carries the potential for overwhelming other institutions and influences. Nothing in this process should be aimed at adversely affecting the legitimate role of the armed forces. Because Congress is now bestirring and asserting itself after twenty-five years of progressive abdication to Presidential initiative in foreign and military affairs, one can be encouraged that the necessary job will be done.

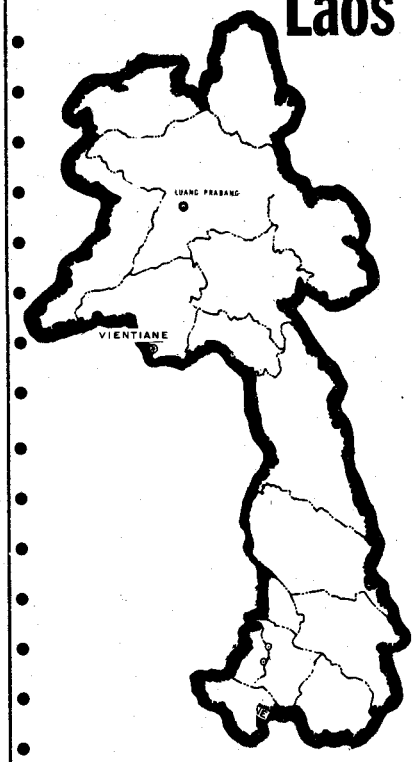
Television

The End of Momma

I watched for two weeks running something called "Penelope's Hellenic Hour" on the District of Columbia's most obscure TV channel (#14). The first program was a Christmas church service two days late, with children singing carols bilingually; and it was as outrageous an exhibition of amateurism as any I have seen on the tube. I enjoyed every note off key, every flubbed line, every frantic glance at the prompter. It was warm, genuine, the sort of thing one never finds, particularly at Xmas, on the commercial tube. It almost (but not quite) restored my faith in Xmas, and I wondered as I watched this phenomenon why amateurism was only possible in a situation operating outside the American Way.

The second program helped to explain the phenomenon, and also to diminish my enthusiasm, though I still went away pleased to think that anywhere in modern TV one could find big momma in charge. Penelope was the momma, a round nervous woman in an ornate black dress, arms covered with netting, who kept shepherding child performers awkwardly into position in

Critical to peace: the war in Laos



Here are some hard, vital answers to the questions Americans are asking about what's really happening in Southeast Asia today: *What are North Vietnam's long-term goals in Laos? What is North Vietnam's role in the Lao Communist movement? How is the war conducted in the Lao Communist zone and on the Ho Chi Minh trail?* This report by two experts on Southeast Asia – based on North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao documents, official papers, broadcast transcripts, and unprecedented on-the-scene interviews – is unquestionably the most complete, *documented* account published about today's crucial war in Laos. 5 maps. $5.95

NORTH VIETNAM AND THE PATHET LAO
PARTNERS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LAOS
PAUL F. LANGER AND JOSEPH J. ZASLOFF

A Rand Corporation Research Study

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

front of the mike and looking at her watch. It was all like the night of the 6th-grade play, and in that similarity lay the answer to the difference between Penelope's show and the big TV world: the Hellenic hour was not amateur night at all, but the night with parents in charge.

It is a first rule of American entertainment that parents lose their authority three minutes after the last performance of the 6th-grade play. Thereafter comes a short period of amateurism in which students and teachers vie for control, followed by total student lib, that which evokes bad performances of B'way musicals. But Penelope, with the help of the sweet gods of minority cultures, has managed to extend the 6th-grade rule to a point near adulthood, a procedure surely investigatable by the defunct HUAC.

There are many foreign-language shows now, but while I am not prepared to generalize soundly about them, my impression is that Penelope's is different. In any event, what she is doing is a losing fight; the professionals are driving the moms out, even the ferocious Italian and Jewish moms, so that the shows known as "Community Hours" are losing their distinctive properties on the American scene, except to the extent that they are not conducted in English. What is happening on such programs amounts to a sort of levelling process by which professional efficiency, cupidity and emptiness take over. I think we should be skeptical about what can be done now on TV with the community notion even under the best conditions – for example, on CATV.

Just before seeing Penelope I had been reading a fine essay on Canadian television in an anthology, *Canadian Writing Today* (Penguin paperback, $2.45), in which the bilingual and bicultural Canadian tube was discovered to display something of the same characteristics I noted while watching Penelope. The essay had first appeared in *Commentary*, its appearance being itself a commentary upon Canadian writing (ninety-two of the ninety-six magazines with a circulation of over 100,000 in Canada are published in the States). It informed me that to live in Montreal is to enjoy the benefits and hazards of TV programming from at least four sources: the US; the two divisions, English and French, of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; and programs brought in from the BBC and France. Commercial television from the US dominates the lives of English-speaking Canada, with the result that the English division of CBC has something of the problem of competition that NET has in the US; and is driven, like NET, to imitate commercial TV. The French-speaking side of the CBC on the other hand goes its own independent way, and according to Neil Compton, the author of this essay, produces both good TV and much-watched TV – a combination almost unheard of over here in civilization.

As counterpoint, in another essay in the anthology, Pierre Trudeau takes off after French nationalism in Canada on the grounds that it has produced nothing but friction and an inferior subculture. All the old arguments in the States about regionalism – which ended up, remember, as arguments about the dubious virtues of progress – are being reenacted now in Canada in connection with the media; and the liberal politicoes are of course on the side of progress (use the tube to integrate Canada) while the critics like Compton sit around worrying about what progress brings (what does it bring? It brings America programming). Obviously our country is beyond all this. We have, would say, no significant regional c national subculture left, except tha of the blacks, like that of the Frenc culture in Canada; and as far as I ca see black separatism has not mad much of a dent in the ways of ou national commercial television. Th blacks have been sucked in just as th whites have, over here. The French TV network in Canada is another matter

> Radio Canada has all the energy, imaginative vitality and rapport with its audience that English-speaking producers long for. The French Canadian community might have been especially designed to support a popular television service; it is homogenous, large enough to provide a variety of audiences but not so large as to be formless, and it is protected from undue outside influence by the language barrier. Of the large number of popular artists to achieve fame on radio Canada during the past ten years, perhaps the most impressive are an indigenous school of chansonniers. . . . Since the French TV network began operation, French Canada has ceased to be frightened by the bogey of assimilation . . . and has begun to take an ebullient and aggressive delight in her own unique identity.

I do not live in Montreal, and I can not confirm Compton's observation about the French programs; but ever to imagine the existence of a vigorously separatist network is to have swee dreams.

Unfortunately such dreams are of the past. Premier Trudeau is right. Frenc Canada is like "Penelope's Helleni Hour." So far as TV is concerned both are left-overs from somethin that is nearly extinct.

Sedulu

UNWANTED PREGNANCY

We will act on your behalf to arrange a low cost, legal abortion in New York State.

IMMEDIATE • CONFIDENTIAL

ABORTION ADVISORY SERVICES
SPS CONSULTANTS, INC.
565 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10017

Area Code 212 • 490-2190
9 A.M. to 9 P.M.
7 DAYS A WEEK

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 120 W. 31 St., New York, N.Y.

5 India Pennies.....$1.00
100 Foreign Coins.....$3.95
BELLS COIN SHOP
Box 276
Tolleson, Arizona 85353

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

TOWNSEND HOOPES *was Under Secretary of the Air Force in the Johnson Administration and is the author of* The Limits of Intervention. RICHARD POIRIER *is Chairman of the English Department at Rutgers in New Brunswick, and an editor of* Partisan Review. *His next book,* The Performing Self *will be published in April by Oxford University Press.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Communication

hope some of the radical economists escribed by Melville J. Ulmer ("Eco-omics on the New Left" December 26) ill interest themselves in what is appening to the state universities. For ears the public has been inundated ith statistical proof that college edu-ation has monetary value. From this as developed the rationale that, since ducation has emerged from a con-umption luxury to a productive in-estment, students should pay for both ublic and private higher education. egislators, boards of education, uni-ersity officials, and educational jour-alists largely agree that those who ill profit should foot the bill, assum-ig that they have identified those who ill profit most. Attached to this ra-onale is the notion that education is growth industry and should be ac-essible to whatever businesses can be-ome part of campus life. Thus busi-ess entrepreneurs are admitted to the ducational establishment.

In Illinois the rationale began to sur-ace in 1947 when the General As-embly authorized state colleges and niversities to issue bonds to build, quip, and operate student residence alls, student unions, field houses, adia, and other revenue-producing uildings, including their sites. Subse-uent legislation permits these institu-ons to fix, charge, and collect fees for: 1) admission, registration, tuition, and atriculation; (2) supplies, materials, aboratories, and similar functions; (3) udent activities and services; and 4) group insurance premiums for ealth services, medical care, and hos-ital facilities. Illinois public senior in-titutions are now taxing students for ll of these. This year students began o pay one-quarter of the cost of in-truction and the General Assembly is onsidering a proposal to raise tuition o one-third of the instructional cost ase. The only major items which tudents do not yet finance wholly or n part are classroom buildings and ibraries.

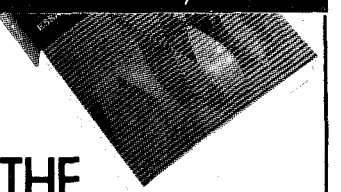
It is argued that increased costs are ue to inflation. This is only partly rue. In a typical Illinois institution, ormitory and board fees for nine nonths would have risen from $650 o $750 between 1958 and 1969 had hey paralleled the consumer-price-ndex (100 to 131) and the wholesale-price-index for all commodities (100 to 111). Instead they rose to $960. Registration and service fees should have risen from $150 to $200 in the same period, but they went to $380. The main part of the truth is that "snowballing" and repudiation of the commitment to equalizing opportunities are responsible for the increases in student fees.

Snowballing results when fee financing of one supererogatory encourages others to begin: a university decides to excel in sports so it subsidizes half the expenses of its athletes, called the "half ride." Competing schools meet the challenge in like fashion, so the "full ride" follows. The academic faculty protests growing athleticism, so it is pacified with subsidies to talented music, art, drama, and journalism students. Meanwhile it seems desirable to show off the athletic teams in a stadium and field house, and these generate a new auditorium. Prestige also requires student unions with bowling alleys, game rooms, ballrooms, and such profit-making services as restaurants and coffee bars; dormitories with hobby rooms, television parlors, a telephone in each room, snack kitchenettes, a miniature beauty salon; lecture and concert series; insurance programs; and so on. (One health insurance program in a school of 10,000 can reap $200,000 annually.) Ironically, fee increases necessitate more and larger scholarships and grants which in turn inspire more fees.

But the key to all of this is repudiation of the promise that public education is the safest and soundest way of equalizing opportunities in a civilized society; that tax-supported, publicly controlled schools open to all as long as they attend provide the best vehicle for socio-economic mobility. Last century Horace Mann proclaimed "the *absolute* right to an education of every human being that comes into the world; and which, of course, proves the correlative duty of every government to see that the means of that education are provided for all."

Apologists claim that scholarships and aids offset all, or most, expenses of needy students. But the authors of HEW Bulletin 29, 1965, discovered in the public universities they sampled that about 18 percent of all dropouts were financial, compared to 11 percent in the private universities. Two years ago I queried eight Illinois public universities. Five responded with infor-

FREE
an important new book on sexuality



THE NEW SEXUAL REVOLUTION absolutely free with a year's subscription to *the Humanist*

Only $5.95
$8.45 VALUE

THE NEW SEXUAL REVOLUTION, just published by Prometheus Books, contains articles by a group of outstanding writers in the field of sexuality: psychologists, sociologists, lawyers. Edited by Lester A. Kirkendall and Robert N. Whitehurst, it includes such authors as Charles Winick, Albert Ellis, Garrett Hardin. "Origins of Sexophobia," "Erotic Emotion," "Sex, Society and the Single Woman," "Sex Research," and "Sexual Practices" are just a few of the 18 searching articles on today's attitudes toward sexual liberation. You'll find it absorbing. A welcome addition to your library. An important reference source.

And you'll be receiving bi-monthly issues of THE HUMANIST—a magazine of provocative dialogue, controversial commentary. Recent issues explore the question: IS THE SPLIT BETWEEN RADICALS AND LIBERALS NOW RECONCILABLE? CAN THE DIFFERENCES BE BRIDGED? In the current issue a 12-page exchange between NOAM CHOMSKY and SIDNEY HOOK excitingly continues the debate between the New and Old Left. And Miriam Allen deFord writes on WOMEN AGAINST THEMSELVES. Helen Mayer Hacker asks WHY CAN'T A WOMAN . . .?

Recent participants in dialogue have been Leslie Fiedler, David Bazelon, Lionel Abel, Paul Kurtz, Howard Zinn, Albert Ellis, Joan Baez and Paul Goodman.

THE HUMANIST is important because it is involved. Order your subscription now. Get THE NEW SEXUAL REVOLUTION *free*.

the Humanist
Dept. NRA
923 Kensington Ave., Buffalo, N.Y. 14215

☐ Please enter my year's subscription to The Humanist and send my FREE copy of the just published NEW SEXUAL REVOLUTION.

Enclosed is $5.95_____ Bill me_____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State_____ Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mation that in 1967 the number of students who told personnel officers they could no longer afford school totaled 281. A committee appointed by the Illinois Board of Higher Education to examine admission and retention of students reported in 1969 that 26 percent of Illinois college freshmen dropped out in 1960 due to lack of funds. Sometimes students give wrong reasons or no reasons when they leave. And some people cannot afford to become students in the first place.

If any of the new radical economists were to make a national study, they would find the thinking of the educational establishment fully as sterile and conservative as the thinking of those orthodox economists upon whom the Establishment depends.

F. Raymond McKenna
Charleston, Illinois

Correspondence

Going Nowhere

Sirs:

George McT. Kahin's article, "Going Nowhere in Paris" (December 26), was on the whole balanced and fair, but three important points were left unclear.

First, Mr. Kahin refers to "our adversaries" as "the NLF(PRG) and Hanoi". No doubt he understands the relationship between the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government, but many Americans do not. The PRG was formed in 1969 and contains several important groups, of which the NLF is one. Another is the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, which was organized after the Tet offensive of 1968 among the urban middle class, incorporating businessmen, professionals, and functionaries of the Saigon administration itself. The PRG also includes Buddhist priests and adherents of the Hoa Hao and Cao Dai sects.

The PRG is a united front of both communist and social democratic forces, who have agreed on their support of a provisional coalition government and their condemnation of the current Saigon regime. This point must be made clear in order to refute the false impression of the American press and people that the opposition to the government of Thieu and Ky is narrow in political base and only as numerous as the NLF itself.

Second, the first point of the PRG program as outlined by Madame Binh last September calls for more than the withdrawal of all American troops by June 30, 1971, as Mr. Kahin indicates. To quote from the official translation, it demands that the United States ". . . totally withdraw from South Vietnam troops, military personnel, weapons, and war materials of the United States . . ." The PRG is quite explicit in its insistence that the Vietnamization program must stop, that no American war materials be used against Vietnamese nationals.

This point is vital, inasmuch as Mr. Nixon does not speak of curtailing support for the air war, which is by far the most destructive aspect of American operations in Indochina.

Third, Mr. Kahin is correct in asserting that the PRG believes Mr. Nixon to be "unalterably committed to maintaining a separate and anti-Communist South Vietnamese state," but he fails to indicate the PRG's own position on reunification. The PRG intends reunification to be achieved eventually, but realizes that the process will be a long one, and insists that it take place peacefully. Far from the post-withdrawal bloodbath described by the American government, the provisional coalition government, again quoting from the official translation, will "prohibit all acts of terror, reprisal, and discrimination against those who have collaborated with either side," and will pursue a foreign policy of neutrality.

Carlos Dabezies
New University Conference,
University of Chicago

"MR. NIXON REASONS IT THROUGH: *Get out of Vietnam in the morning/ And rinse out the rivers by noon;/ At 1:35 abandon the drive/ To rocket the men to the moon;/ At 2:00, on a national hook-up,/ Say pot's a narcotic you dig./ At 3:00, any dough says Kunstler & Co./ Continue to call me a pig.*"

For a free copy of NATIONAL REVIEW, write: Dept. Y, 150 E. 35 Street, N. Y. 10016.

Imperial Failure?

Sirs:

Gerald W. Johnson in his article entitled "The Imperial Role" in the December 12th issue, gives a little lesso in how to read history. Immediatel upon finishing he proceeds to grie ously misread it. He implies that sin all (or almost all) imperial civilizatio have failed, that this was due to the imperial nature. Before he draws suc a conclusion, he should look and s how well non-imperial civilizatio have fared to see if such a conclusio is warranted. I suggest that it is not.

Richard K. Gershon, M.L
New Haven, Conn.

In reply:

But the imperial role is the one th has been thrust upon us, so why dive attention to others that we are n required to play? I did admit tha barring certain frankly genocidal fo ays, all the great empires have enjoye an initial period of popularity – a suredly a hint that the fatality may b not in the role, but in the way it ha been played.

Gerald W. Johnso

War Guilt

Sirs:

Your editorial, "War Guilt," (Decem ber 19) did indeed raise many terribl questions, but I wonder whether the were all "fair." The question of colle tive guilt is, at best, a murky on especially as applied to national poli ical decisions. Can a person who vote for Johnson in 1964 really be said to b accountable for that President's dec sion to escalate the war the followin year? With so many diverse and eve conflicting reasons given for the "ne cessity" of this war, how is it possibl to assess which motives were so bla tantly false as to be called "obscene rather than merely mistaken? Bu aside from these speculative mora questions, what really disturbed m about your editorial was its, doubtles undesired, tendency to blur the line between the personal moral and lega guilt for actual crimes and atrocities and the broad historical and politica responsibility incumbent upon leader and led alike for the war and the policy behind it. No doubt these two fields o judgment do, in fact, merge, when an if it is possible to demonstrate that war such as this could only be fough with methods and tactics which in volved inhumanitarian means. Never theless, with all due respect for mercy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nd leniency, I believe we must not llow the hazy concepts of metaphysical guilt to cloud the personal innoence or guilt of individuals accused of pecific crimes. This tactic, consciously r unconsciously, is being used already y sympathetic supporters of Lt. Caley. We must not forget, however, depite the Balboni article in your same ssue, that thousands of other Ameriin servicemen in Vietnam, involved in he same war and exposed to the same ressures, did not act in this way. To ump all war participants together, for ood or for evil, is itself a violation of ustice. That is one of the chief dangers nd ironies of the collective guilt argunent, for where all are guilty, the effect s often for none to be guilty.

James D. Shand
San Francisco, Calif.

Inelastic Travelers

Sirs:

Although Reuben Robertson in his article "Fasten Your Seat Belts" (January 2 & 9) has made several valid criticisms of the airline industry, his emark that the CAB has ignored the 'concept of demand elasticity" is not otally accurate. For several months ast summer, the CAB held hearings in Washington in an effort to determine the overall effect that discount fares have had on increasing the "demand" for air travel. As the hearings pointed out, a fare reduction that increases the number of passengers does not automatically raise an airline's revenues or profits. A lower fare results in higher revenues or profits *only if* it generates such a large increase in traffic that it more than compensates for the inevitable reduction in revenue per passenger. A 10 percent fare reduction will have to generate around 12 percent of new traffic before there can be any ncrease in revenues. And any increase in profits will necessitate an even greater percentage of passenger stimulation (perhaps 15-20 percent) since presumably it will cost an airline a certain amount of money to handle the increased passenger load.

Most travellers today are using airplanes irrespective of whether there is a 10 percent increase or decrease in the fare level. Therefore, for this "inelastic" portion of an airline's market, a reduction in the fare level only serves to decrease the revenue yield per passenger without stimulating any new passengers. And that portion of the current market that is still sensitive to fare levels is well served by various discount fares that are specifically designed to stimulate the more "elastic" members of the travelling public.

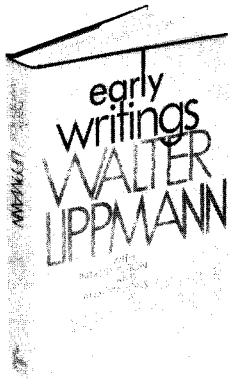
Henry J. Oechler, Jr.
Duke University

Kauffmann, *from page 22*

hope we're going to see much more of him.

Carol Reed is the unlikely director, fresh from his grossly overrated *Oliver!* There is little grace or fluency in the making of this film, little to reflect Reed's long experience; he is particularly clumsy in getting the story started. But he does work well with actors. Quinn and Jory give this picture a truth too good for it.

Another good character performance by Hume Cronyn in *There Was a Crooked Man.* This film by David Newman and Robert Benton, the authors of *Bonnie and Clyde,* is set mostly in a Western prison. (The time is the "old" West, but they quote



"More relevant to the turmoil of the present age than almost anything written in the English language...."
– James Reston

"Enormously readable... the uncanny timelessness of inspired political journalism is evident on almost every page."
– *The Saturday Review*

"... immensely rewarding ... he has that sure eye for sham, for false as well as true values."
– *The Washington Post*

"The mark of a great writer is whether his works will stand the test of time.... Mr. Lippmann's writings certainly pass that test."
– Senator J. W. Fulbright

"... Lippmann is the master craftsman – simple, precise, elegant."
– *Newsweek*

early writings $7.50
Walter Lippmann

LIVERIGHT

"A fascinating, perceptive and desperately needed book at this time in America"
—BOOK WORLD

RAMSEY CLARK
Crime in America

100,000 copies in print!
A Book-of-the-Month Club Choice
$6.95 • Simon and Schuster

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Henley's "Invictus," which was published in 1888 in England and which would have had to do some fast traveling to reach a territorial schoolteacher before the "old" West faded.)

Cronyn plays a prissy old con man, "married" to another con man, an aging homosexual long past active sexuality, left now only with the temperament. Cronyn evidently has modeled his ideas on a fussy domineering old wife, past female sexuality – except that Cronyn is a male in male clothes. He gives a valid and subtle performance, much like one he gave on Broadway in *Big Fish, Little Fish* (1961).

The script is one of those Westerns in which every character is tagged with salient characteristics and, to make it mature, has some contradictory quirks. For instance, the warden (Henry Fonda) is humanely trying to improve prison conditions, but he's terribly puritanical about sex.

The plot has to do with a prison break led by Kirk Douglas, and is full of those surprises that don't really surprise because we knew there had to be surprises – otherwise, the film wouldn't have been made. One difference from earlier Westerns is that language and sexual references are much broader than they used to be, but unlike *The Wild Bunch* – where the broadness made us feel that we were at last seeing the full Western spectrum – here we simply feel that a pattern-picture has been made in 1970 instead of 1960. The ending has a double cynical twist. *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, daddy of "Western" cynicism, ended with Walter Huston laughing honestly at the futile venality of the dead Humphrey Bogart. *Crooked Man* ends with the dead Douglas posthumously corrupting honest Fonda. But this ending is not the result of anything authentically Manichean in the film; it is merely a double twist.

Another unlikely director here, – Joseph L. Mankiewicz, and he has as much trouble as Carol Reed in getting his film started, but like Reed, is pretty good with actors. Burgess Meredith is surprisingly restrained as an old con. Fonda and Douglas are themselves; we get Stubborn Goodness from one, Evil Through Smiles and Muscle-Rippling from the other.

THE REAL McCOY!

Our "onboard" one-suiter is strictly the real *thing* in time-saving carry-on luggage. It's crafted of Seal-grained black Calfskin, double belted with chrome snap fittings and fine lock. Inside: moire-lined divided compartments. Outside: full-length document pocket. 18x13x4", it expands to twice its girth and fits easily under your airplane seat. Why settle for less? Do as Hatfield did and go for the real McCoy!

☐ Send me the "McCoy" One-Suiter, $60
☐ Matching Briefcase (fits "McCoy's" side pocket) $20
☐ Both "McCoy" and Matching Envelope Briefcase, $72 (a saving of $8).
☐ Please apply the following chrome initials: _____ $3.
Add $1 for post. & ins. (Calif. resid. add 5%). Return in 2 wks. if not delighted.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____ ZIP _____
Mail to: 584 Washington Street, San Francisco, California 94111

haverhill's

NR0123

Personals

BUTTONS (395 different stock also made order), bumperstickers, decals, beads, phoney and $1000 bills. Free catalog, Suite 503-C, 1 West 46 St., NYC, N.Y. 10036.

24 DIFFERENT GAGS—$1.00—plus membershi "Gag-of-the-month Club"!!! Savar, 138 We Gorgas Lane, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19119.

"BATTLE" OF ARMAGEDDON NOT BIBLICA Brochure mailed free. Crawford Research, Bo 42, Sun City, California 92381.

TIME TO RENEW WATCHBAND CALENDAR 12 months, $1.50 (specify starting month). IDE HOUSE, Rye, New York 10580.

10-yr. CALENDAR. 1971-81. Ingenious Britis invention. Sliding bars show day, date, monti year. Postpaid $4.00. Redhouse, Box 943, Lyn field, Mass. 01940.

LEARN SELF-ANALYSIS. No hocus-pocus. Prove down-to-earth method. For details: The Researc Establishment, Box 256, Linwood, New Jerse 08221.

MEET YOUR IDEAL MATE (computerized match ing). All ages. Write: TEAM Project, 1270 Broad way, New York City, New York 10001.

HUMANISM: A non-theistic philosophy for pe sons of goodwill, who appreciate the scientifi viewpoint. Free information. American Human ist Association, Dept. NR, 125 El Camino d Mar, San Francisco, California 94121.

TRANSCEND daily existence! Collect postag stamps! Informative booklet $1. Carpe-Diem, 72 Humphrey Street, Swampscott, Massachusett 01907.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. Send writing sa ple and $10 to Elizabeth King, 41 East 29th Stree New York, New York 10016.

KODACOLOR PRICE-BREAKTHROUGH—Perfe prints, 8 or 12 exposure rolls $2: 20 exposure, $ Full credit unprintable negatives. Money-bac guarantee. We pay postage both ways! Send $ and film or write for free mailer. Mystic Colo Lab, Box R-144, Mystic, Connecticut 06355.

FINEST QUALITY Personalized Stationery AT SPECIAL DISCOUNT

Outstanding social and professional writing papers beautifully imprinted with your name and address. Exciting rainbow colors–conservative whites. Send 25c (postage-handling) for big NEW IDEA-PACKED SAMPLE ASSORTMENT and Price List.

FAST PERSONAL SERVICE

JACQUES STATIONERY CO.
328 East 25th St., New York, N.Y. 10010

SINGLE? FORMERLY MARRIED? — We hav thousands of applicants from which to pick 5 t 10 ideal mates compatible with you in age, area religion, education, etc. Safe, discreet, inexpen sive. PHOTOS provided. Information & fre questionnaire: YALE PHOTO-DATING® SERVICE INC., P.O. Box 509, Dept. K, New York, N.Y. 10028.

MEDITATION? Practice invokes knowledge evokes insight. First year bimonthly trainin course free. Write MEDITATIONS, P.O. Bo 566N, Ojai, California 93023.

OUTRAGEOUS THINGS BY MAIL. Catalog 25¢ Durgin, Box N2065B, Hanover, Massachusett 02339.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS without ex ception. The right of each adult human to ow his or her own body is the paramount moral law without exception.—AAAL, P.O. Box 36122, Los Angeles 90036.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

)VERSEAS POSITIONS—New Directory covers ıxty countries. Includes special reports on sum-ıer jobs, government careers, international or-anizations, medical work, teaching, librarian, ecretarial, newspaper and social work overseas. 2.00. Satisfaction guaranteed. Hill International 'ublications P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York 1730.

EGAL, PLEASANT, HIGH. Amplify love, and ıusic with INDIAN HERB. Brew like tea. ¼ ·. $8.50. Kilo $60.00. Send check or M.O.)DYSSEY IMPORTS, Box 145, Conway, Mass. 1341.

·LOW YOURSELF UP! 1½'x2' poster of anyone. ·end returned snapshot $3.00. Pierpoint Products, ·ox 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

HE FUTURE IS THE CHILDREN. The poten-ıal is theirs—the opportunity is yours—to help needy American Indian reservation child obtain n education and have a friend in the off-eservation world. $15 monthly. Write for bro-hure. Futures for Children, 5612 Parkston Road, Vashington, D.C. 20016.

'UT ANTI-POLLUTION PUNCHES INTO YOUR ORRESPONDENCE with our Anti-Pol Rubber *TAMP PAK*. Four stamps $3.00. Quantity dis-ount list included. Spectrum Rubber Stamps, 619 Pineview Rd., Charleston, South Carolina 9407.

·CHOLARLY PUBLISHERS: CUT PRINTING OSTS: Specialist Linotypes / Produces 100-2M ·aperbound periodicals, monographs, directories, tc. Thoughtful production / Impressive $avings. ontact: Unicorn Farm (NOT PUBLISHERS!), ·ilbertsville, N.Y. 13776.

'm RICHARD. I write BOOKS—publish myself—AMPLERS 25¢. Want one? Richard Liebow, 948 Market, Room 512, San Francisco 94102.

RELEVANT, AQUARIAN-AGE ASTROLOGY. Natal chart interpreted, $15. Give place, date, xact time of birth. Sag/Aries, Box 51, RD3, Hud-on, N.Y. 12534.

LEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange cata-ogue free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Vashington.

'1971 WORLD HOLIDAY CALENDAR," $3.00. Other gifts. The Friendly World, GPO 1004, ·rooklyn, N.Y. 11202.

'HAROLD HUGHES in '72". Bumperstickers and ·uttons 4/$1; newsletter available. STUDENTS FOR IUGHES, Box 668, Los Angeles, California 90053.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will orms and attorney's information book. $1.00. egal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1830 Guardian ·uilding, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

Peace Personals

·UMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS. Low-ost, custom made advertising for your Business, pecial Event, Organization or Political Cam-paign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please state intended use for appropriate samples. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 3551 Page Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63114. Phone (314) 423-5495.

WORLD PEACE requires ESPERANTO text, rec-ord loaned FREE. Esperanto Library, DEPTNR. Middleton, Wisconsin 53562.

'OSTERS (over 250, many anti-war), BUTTONS (over 200), BUMPERSTICKERS, PEACE JEWELRY & EARRINGS. Wholesale & Retail. Free Cata-logue. A BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission, San Francisco, California 94103.

"McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT" Bumperstickers, 5/$1; Buttons, 4/$1; Matchbooks, 50/$1; Emery Boards, 10/$1. McGovern Products, Box 10002, Kansas City, Missouri 64111.

PEACE CARDS, stickers, etc. Sample 25¢. International McClelland, NR, Beverly Hills 90210.

Authors

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphicopy, Box 285R, Floral Park, N.Y. 11001.

WE PRINT your poetry, story or non-fiction in book form at low cost. Excellent workmanship. Information free. Pine Hill Press, Freeman, S.D. 57029.

DO YOU HAVE A WRITER IN YOUR LIFE? Send for our free catalogue. Writers Craft Systems, Box 181NRB, Narberth, Pa. 19072.

WRITERS — "UNSALABLE" BOOK MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors: publicity, advertising, promotion, beautiful books. All subjects invited. Send for free manuscript report and detailed booklet. Carlton Press, Dept. RZM, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Literature

THE BURNING BRA: The American Breast Fetish and Women's Liberation. A Scholarly Analysis of Fashion, Status and Sex. $1.00. Ann Brown Printing, 4694 Okemos Road, Okemos, Michigan 48864.

ENJOY SHORTWAVE EAVESDROPPING—hear news direct from Moscow, Tel Aviv, Cairo, Peking—over 50 countries; ships, police, amateurs. Everything you need to know in book, "Better Shortwave Reception," 156 pages, $4.15 postpaid from Radio Publications, Box 149-F, Wilton, Conn. 06897.

LIVE in or near Washington DC? Follow local and national politics and arts in DC Gazette. Lively, provocative, entertaining. 10 issues: $1. 109 8th St., NE, DC 20002.

POEMS WANTED FOR QUARTERLY PUBLICATION. Submit several. POETRY PAGEANT, Box 3677-RNB, Washington, D.C. 20007.

CHINA (PRC) & VIETNAM (DRV)—Current information thru 1971—subscriptions processed under U.S. Gov't. Licenses: *Peking Review* airmail $4; *China Pictorial* $3; *China Reconstructs* $3; *Chinese Literature* $3 — *Vietnam Courier* $9.50; *Vietnam* (Illus.) $3; *S. Vietnam in Struggle* $4.50. FREE CATALOG imported books in Eng. from Peking and Hanoi. CHINA BOOKS & PERIODICALS, 2929-24 St., Dept. NR, San Francisco 94110.

The BOOK REVIEW. Try an alternative to the NY Review-NY Times reviewing syndrome—a Monthly Magazine $4/year. The BOOK REVIEW, Dept. N, PO Box 14143, San Francisco, Calif. 94114.

BEDIQUETTE: "Funniest — and wisest — sex guidebook ever written." Perfect gag gift; engagements, weddings, anniversaries. Send $2 to BEDIQUETTE, Box 69, Phoenix, Arizona 85001.

LEO TOLSTOY'S ADVICE TO A DRAFTEE, printed and designed in limited edition of 2000, by Leonard Baskin. Written in 1899 to a young man faced with the alternatives of accepting military duty or refusing it, this booklet holds relevance today. Proceeds will be used towards furthering peace education. $10. Write American Friends Service Committee, Inc., 48 Inman Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

RARE BOOKS, MAPS: Extraordinary catalogue. $1.00 refundable. Box 3235, Santa Barbara, California 93105.

BLUE BOOKS—20¢ and 50¢—all subjects. Lists for stamp. LARSON'S BOOKS—NR, Route 2—Box 38, Noel, Missouri 64854.

BEST BOOKFINDERS IN NEW YORK: ORSAY BOOKS, 86-32 N. Eliot Ave., Rego Park, New York City 11374.

BACK DATE MAGAZINES: Send needs. Midtown Box 917-NR, Maywood, New Jersey 07607.

1970 (6th Edition) Small Magazine/Press Directory —$2.50/copy; $8.00/4-year subscription. DUSTbooks, R.2, 5218 Scottswood Road, Paradise, California 95969.

Schools

OPENINGS for 6 live-in students 7 to 18 years old (especially 10 year olds) in new experimental familial rural school community. Individualized studies; much song, dance, laughter. We also sponsor weekend conferences for adults exploring own life values. Reserve space: 703 987-2536. We seek a few more community members such as a cello playing carpenter with knowledge of organic gardening and a PHD in math with equally talented actress wife and kids: Nethers Community School, Box 41, Woodville, Va. 22749.

SCIENTIFIC MEDITATION illumines the mind and guides creative thought to meet mankind's needs. Weekly training groups; correspondence courses. ARCANA WORKSHOPS, P.O. Box 5105, Beverly Hills, CA 90210.

COED BOARDING SCHOOL COMMUNITY, 50 students, 15 faculty seeks students, grades 10-12 from all races, faiths, backgrounds in program combining experimental curriculum, thorough college preparation, social awareness, physical work, outdoor skills, and spiritual exploration. 400 acres wooded mountainside campus 85 miles from New York and Philadelphia. Related to Kirkridge Retreat and Study Center founded 1942. Write The School at Kirkridge, Box 32, R.D. #1 Bangor, Pa. 18013. 215-588-0954.

COLLEGE ADMISSIONS AND TRANSFERS—Specializing in difficult cases—undergraduates, college transfers, medical, law, veterinarian, graduate, dental. College Admissions Center of N.Y. 102-30 Queens Boulevard, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375 or call "Richard Collins" 212-BR5-2900.

Foreign Studies

NEWREPUBLICKISH FRENCH FAMILY WELCOMES PAYING GUESTS, 18th-century mansion fifty acres woodland meadow near quaint village central France, twelfth season. Rates $25 day include room, private bath, notable home-style meals, wines, drives, chateau-tours, theater tickets. Write for reduced monthly and winter rates; experienced French instruction available. Thevenin, "Pradepont," Solignac 87.

EXCHANGE THE THEORY OF THE TEXTBOOK for a firsthand experience with the subject matter —in Ghana, India, Japan, Yugoslavia, or ten other countries. Fifteen-week academic term abroad for college undergraduates featuring personal involvement in the host culture and flexible academic programming, including intensive language training, homestay, area studies and individual study project. Full college credit. Spring, summer or fall term. Write: Dr. Irene S. Parsons, School for International Training, Brattleboro, Vermont 05301.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARE YOU QUALIFIED to meet Russians face to face in the U.S.S.R. on a 2 or 3 week exchange visit during the spring, summer, or fall of 1971? All ages, occupations eligible. Citizen Exchange Corps, Dept. NR1/71, W. 46th St., NYC 212-LT-1-8113.

SUMMER STUDYTRAVEL OPPORTUNITIES for adults, high school and college students. Unique program, small groups, qualified leaders. Africa, Alaska, Mexico, South America, Scandinavia, USSR, Yugoslavia, Around the World. Discussions, seminars, meeting people. Brochure: *Studytravel* Dept. R, Friends World College, Westbury, N.Y. 11590.

Camps

JOHNNY APPLESEED CAMP, Honesdale, Pa. Non-profit, inter-racial. Write: 50 Lincoln Ave., Eastchester, N.Y. 10707.

Employment Wanted

SOCIOLOGIST, M.A., near doctorate, decade college teaching; bicultural; seeks interesting, constructive alternative. Permanent or Summers. Write 430 East Summer St., Appleton, Wi. 54911.

LIVE-IN COUPLE. Knowledgeable, versatile. References. Seeking position with private estate, seasonal residence, historic landmark, etc. in the Southwest or Rocky Mountain States. New Republic Box #4825.

Employment Opportunities

TEACHING POSITIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. 1971-72 Guide contains current information about 40 private and governmental organizations seeking teachers. General and personal requirements, geographic areas, addresses for application forms. 100-page book including survey of foreign embassies! Guaranteed satisfaction. $2.00. Foreign Countries, Box 514-Y5, Ames, Iowa 50010.

CAREER PROGRAM IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Applications accepted from Master's candidates in economics, international relations, finance, public or business administration, industrial engineering; or equivalent experience. U.S. citizenship required. Send resume: James Washington, Director Equal Opportunity Employment, Agency for International Development (U.S. State Dept.), Washington, D.C. 20523. Equal Opportunity Employer.

HIGHER EDUCATION; SECONDARY EDUCATION; SOCIAL - ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. New approach. Comprehensive. Current. Nationwide. Directories of Positions. All fields. Write Intercept-Sociocom, Box 317, Harvard Square P.O., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

BOOMING AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU — New 1971 Australian Handbook describing Free passage plans, citizenship requirements, passport-visa, employment opportunities, business, farming, teaching, etc.—plus application forms, and Employer's list $1.00. Buckeye, Box 1032NK, Fairborn, Ohio 45324.

OVERSEAS JOBS. High Pay, Travel, Adventure. Directory of Over 100 American Firms Now Hiring for Overseas Projects. $1.00. TRANSWORLD, Box 90802-EE, International Airport, Los Angeles, California 90009.

EUROPEAN—FOREIGN EMPLOYMENT—Detailed report on currently available jobs—Europe, Australia, Africa. $3.00. Eurojob Report, Box 52643—P, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501.

"AUSTRALIAN BUSINESS DIRECTORY" — Over 300 Companies Seeking Help—50,000 Jobs—$1.00. "Australian Private Employment Agencies Directory" — All Professionals — $1.00. AUSSIE, Box 91018-EE, Los Angeles, California 90009.

WORK IN DEVELOPING MEXICO. Rapid advancement, negligible taxes. Inexpensive entertainment. Pleasant living. Peace. Information $3.00, Infomex NR271, Box 366, Berea, Ohio 44017.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 942-N, Belmont, California 94002.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU!!! Government Assisted Passage. 1971 Government Information and Forms—Most Complete Information Available—$1.00. Reports on Employment, Business, Taxes, Education, Teaching, Housing, Ranching, Maps, etc. AUSTCO Box 3623-EE Long Beach, California 90803.

Vacations/Travel

CHARTER FLIGHT HANDBOOK. 1,100 organizations named. Particulars free. TIB, P.O. Box 105n, Kings Park, N.Y. 11754.

FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AND GRADUATES. Exceptional travel plans in Western Europe—Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—Greece and Turkey—Russia. Get off the beaten track and become involved in European life. Speak French in France or Spanish in Spain all summer. Or stay in a Soviet youth center; sail with Breton fishermen; climb glacier-covered Alps; ski in August at Mont Blanc; make bicycle trip in Denmark; hike with Czech students; live with European family. Music festivals, theatres. 20th year. Write: George N. Shumlin, Putney Student Travel, Putney, Vermont 05346.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.75. Rates, schedules, 700 passenger carrying freighters. TravLtips, 40-21, JFI, Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

MEXICO WITH ANTHROPOLOGIST. Informal study philosophy, anthropology — Yucatan, Oaxaca, Tehuacan. Students 14-18. July. Box 4486, Stockton, California 95204.

SAN FRANCISCO ON A BUDGET? Charming, centrally located. Hotel Beresford, 635 Sutter Street.

Greenery

BONSAI (DWARF) TREES. America's oldest growers of aged Bonsai. Free catalogue. HEIROB BONSAI NURSERY, Hampton, Livingston Manor, New York 12758.

Cookery

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 11, 799 Broadway, NYC 10003.

WINEMAKING KIT . . . $4.98. Free recipes—Catalog. JIMDANDY, Box 30230-XX, Cincinnati, Ohio 45230.

Arts and Crafts

WINSLOW HOMERWOOD ENGRAVINGS, also Remington, A. B. Frost. $15-$125.00. Box 63, Lanesville, Mass. 01930.

COLLECT ORIGINAL SIGNED ETCHINGS and lithographs by America's foremost artists including Dobkin, Florsheim, Greenwood, Hirsh, Landau, Margulies, Raphael Soyer, from $15. Free catalog with 47 illustrations. (Mail 25c for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6, 663 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10022.

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS" 25¢ Whittemore, Box 2065PP, Hanover, Massachusetts 02339.

LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro. Reasonable. Illustrated catalogue. 50¢. George Kirschner, 90-59 56 Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373

FINE HANDMADE CRAFTS—Ties, candles, ceramic windchimes, dresses, pot holders, dashikis. Free catalog. A self-help people's project. 91 Eleventh Street, Columbus, Ind. 47201.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Box 28F, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

Sports Equipment

LIGHTWEIGHT BACKPACK AND MOUNTAINEERING EQUIPMENT. Imported, Domestic Canoes and Kayaks for day trips, voyageuring, or white-water. Free catalog. MOOR & MOUNTAIN Dept. 44, Main St., Concord, Mass. 07142.

Records

FREE 64 PAGE CATALOG Offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance Baroque and Classical music. Introductory records as low as $1.00 each! All late recordings. In Stereo only. MHS Records, Box 932-NR, New York 10023.

Music

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

EASY TO PLAY AND MAKE instruments. Thumb Pianos $10, kit $5; Dulcimers now $45 up, kit $18 up; Psalteries, Banjos; Dulcimer book, record HERE, INC., #N, Box 341, Minneapolis Minnesota 55440.

BURTON HARPSICHORD KIT—NEW—Basic 8 with buff stop $175. 5 octaves. Burton Jack (patented). Other Harpsichord Kits to $590. Write Herbert Wm. Burton, 917 "O" Street, Box 8027 (N), Lincoln, Nebraska 68501.

GUITARISTS—Too busy to practice? Five minutes weekly teaches folk strums, barres, melody. Beginner — advanced. Samples 10¢. Steel's, Box 114, San Rafael, California 94902.

HARPSICHORDS with the most beautiful sound from North America's leading makers. For catalog send 25¢ to: SABATHIL & SON, Dept. 2, 1084 Homer, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

APPALACHIAN DULCIMERS—Handmade. From $40.00. Instructions. Max Wilson, Rt 3, Paoli Indiana.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 60c
Per word 6 times in one contract year .. 55c
Per word 12 times in one contract year .. 50c
Per word 24 times in one contract year .. 45c
Per word 48 times in one contract year .. 40c

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Printed by Merkle Press, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"A margin of safety in a world where that margin has become slim and equivocal."

With your permission on this 25th Anniversary, we would like to send you (under a most exceptional arrangement) a magazine which . . .

- Has brought together in a cooperative non-profit venture the world's leading scientists and scholars, Nobel Laureates, leaders in the worlds of government and business . . .
- Started as a newsletter 25 years ago for a few hundred individuals concerned with preventing atomic war — and has grown to a magazine with over 20,000 subscribers, who, in the words of Time Magazine, "*. . . girdle the globe and muster more scientific, diplomatic and statesmanship credentials than any world conference in Geneva.*" . . .
- Serves the world community as the only magazine reflecting the mutual impact of science and public affairs for peaceful utilization of scientific advances for man's survival . . .
- Has often initiated proposals and approaches that have helped meet world needs . . . as in the first formulation of the Test-Ban Treaty by David Inglis in the BULLETIN's pages.

We extend this Anniversary invitation — along with a gift copy of the extraordinary double-size 25th Anniversary issue of the *Bulletin* — because we believe you, as a reader of *The New Republic*, share our concern with the future of mankind in this age of change . . . *that you, too, refuse to accept the idea that our children and their children's children have no future on this earth.*

Like yourself, most of us are active in our own fields of work. And yet, almost all those connected with the BULLETIN give their services without remuneration to increase that "*margin of safety.*"

It is unfortunately true that the dangers not just of escalating arms races and nuclear war, but of overpopulation and hunger, of pollution of air and water, are greater than ever.

But we are not alarmists. On the contrary, we would not be devoting our time and energies to bringing the BULLETIN to individuals like yourself if we did not feel it possible to use the growing power of scientific thought to bring the benefits of full and peaceful utilization of the world's resources to all of mankind.

This is an ambitious commitment, but it is one reason why the world's leading scientists and scholars address themselves in the BULLETIN to a select worldwide audience of responsible individuals who share their concern. These experts are writing for you — and we think you, too would enjoy such first-hand, fully authoritative articles as:

- **E. U. CONDON** on *The UFO Report.*
- **GUNNAR MYRDAL** on *Planning The Future Society;*
- **C. P. SNOW** on *Higher Education in a Technological Age;*
- **JEROME WIESNER** on *Prospects for General Disarmament;*
- **DANIEL X. FREEDMAN** on *The Use and Abuse of Psychedelic Drugs;*
- **GERARD PIEL** on *A World Free of Want?*
- **A. TAMPLIN & J. GOFMAN** on *Can We Survive the Peaceful Atom?*
- **KONRAD LORENZ** on *Killing Members of One's Own Species.*

A Special 25th Anniversary Invitation

We hope you will join the regular readership of this "*. . . extraordinary magazine (which) supplies a margin of safety,*" to quote the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. To facilitate this, we have arranged to send you the BULLETIN for the year ahead at a special rate of only $7.00 — *well below the regular price of $8.50.* And, in addition, you will receive at once, with the compliments of the Board, the widely-acclaimed Anniversary issue (soon to be issued in book form) — TRINITY + 25 YEARS.

We know you will share our own rejoicing on the day we can set the hands of the clock on the BULLETIN's cover at the beginning of a new world era of peaceful utilization of the fruits of science for all mankind.

The hands of the world-famed clock on the BULLETIN's cover have symbolized since 1947 man's closeness to nuclear destruction. They have stood as close as 2 minutes to Midnight (at the time the H-Bomb was first exploded), but now they stand at 10 minutes to Midnight. There is hope.

science and public affairs
BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS
935 EAST 60TH STREET • CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

BOARD OF SPONSORS: Hans A. Bethe, Chairman, Samuel K. Allison (1901-65), Robert F. Bacher, Detlev W. Bronk, A. H. Compton (1892-1962), E. U. Condon, F. Daniels, Albert Einstein (1879-1955), James Franck (1882-1964), Bentley Glass, S. A. Goudsmit, T. R. Hogness, F. W. Loomis, Philip M. Morse, H. J. Muller (1890-1967), J. Robert Oppenheimer (1904-1967), Linus Pauling, G. B. Pegram (1876-1958), I. I. Rabi, Julian Schwinger, Frederick Seitz, John A. Simpson, Cyril S. Smith, Leo Szilard (1898-1964), Edward Teller, Harold C. Urey, V. F. Weisskopf, Hugh C. Wolfe, Stewall Wright, J. R. Zacharias

PUBLISHED BY THE EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR NUCLEAR SCIENCE

Accept These Two Book-Length Special Issues Entirely Free

TRINITY + 25 YEARS — An extraordinary review of the nuclear energy revolution in the quarter-century since Alamogordo, written by the scientists most closely involved — Bethe, Frisch, Imai, Kistiakowsky, Seaborg, Weinberg and others. It presents a worldwide picture of the impact of the atomic age on science, technology and society — future developments — even the effect on the lives of the scientists themselves. A rich and fascinating issue.

THE WORLD OF THE ANTARCTIC: Prepared by the scientists of many nations who are playing leading roles in the far-flung Antarctic Program, the many articles in this fascinating special issue cover such topics as Relevance to the Concerns of Mankind; Reading the Past; Climate Changes and Meteorology; Economic Development; International Coordination of Polar Research; The Antarctic as a Political and Natural Science Laboratory, and much more.

Both these issues will appear later in book form. You are invited to receive them now by returning your Anniversary Invitation below.

Science and Public Affairs
BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS
935 East 60th St. • Chicago, Ill., 60637

Please enter my Introductory Subscription to the **Bulletin** at the special rate of only $7.00 for one year (10 issues), a saving of $1.50 from the regular annual rate of $8.50. *Also send me at no extra charge the 25th Anniversary issue TRINITY + 25 YEARS and the special ANTARCTIC issue.*

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

☐ Payment enclosed.* ☐ Please bill me.

* Your cooperation in saving us billing and bookkeeping costs by enclosing payment now would be greatly appreciated. Thank you.

NR

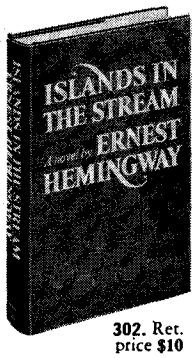
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHICH OF THESE BOOKS HAVE YOU PROMISED YOURSELF TO READ?

CHOOSE ANY 4 FOR ONLY $1

IN A SHORT EXPERIMENTAL MEMBERSHIP IN THE Book-of-the-Month Club®

You simply agree to buy four additional Club Selections or Alternates within a year at special members' prices



302. Ret. price **$10**

510. ZELDA *by* NANCY MILFORD. Photographs (Retail price **$10**)

130. THE GRAHAM KERR COOKBOOK *by* THE GALLOPING GOURMET Photographs (Retail price **$7.50**)

259. JENNIE: The Life of Lady Randolph Churchill *by* RALPH G. MARTIN Photographs (Retail price **$8.95**)

526. UNDERSTANDING HUMAN SEXUAL INADEQUACY Foreword by William H. Masters, M.D., and Virginia E. Johnson (Retail price **$6.95**)

205. PAPILLON *by* HENRI CHARRIERE (Retail price **$8.95**)

319. THE COLLAPSE OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC: An Inquiry into the Fall of France in 1940 *by* WILLIAM L. SHIRER. Maps (Retail price **$12.50**)

107. THE WAY THINGS WORK: An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Technology (Retail price **$9.95**)

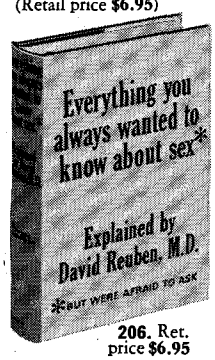
126. ROOSEVELT: The Soldier of Freedom, 1940-1945 *by* JAMES MAC GREGOR BURNS. Illustrated (Retail price **$10**)

353. THE N.Y. TIMES COMPLETE MANUAL OF HOME REPAIR *by* BERNARD GLADSTONE Illustrated (Retail price **$7.95**)

408. COUPLES *by* JOHN UPDIKE (Retail price **$6.95**)

328. MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS *by* ANTONIA FRASER. Photographs (Retail price **$10**)

359. OPERATION OVERFLIGHT: The U-2 Spy Pilot Tells His Story for the First Time *by* FRANCIS GARY POWERS *with* CURT GENTRY Photographs (Retail price **$6.95**)



206. Ret. price **$6.95**

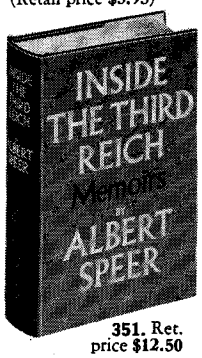
450. THE KEY TO FEMININE RESPONSE IN MARRIAGE *by* RONALD DEUTSCH Illustrated (Retail price **$6.95**)

116. DISRAELI *by* ROBERT BLAKE. Illustrated (Retail price **$12.50**)

323. UP THE ORGANIZATION *by* ROBERT TOWNSEND (Retail price **$5.95**)

318. RICH MAN, POOR MAN *by* IRWIN SHAW (Retail price **$7.95**)

216. WHAT SHALL I DO WITH MY MONEY? *by* ELIOT JANEWAY (Retail price **$5.95**)



351. Ret. price **$12.50**

234. THE OXFORD HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE *by* SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON Illustrated (Retail price **$15**)

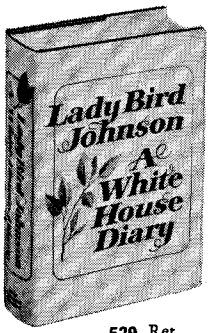
287. THE BACHARACH & DAVID SONG BOOK (Retail price **$7.50**)

530. THE MYTH OF THE MACHINE: The Pentagon of Power *by* LEWIS MUMFORD (Retail price **$12.95**)

434. SEXUAL POLITICS *by* KATE MILLETT (Retail price **$7.95**)

347. EXILES *by* MICHAEL J. ARLEN (Retail price **$6.95**)

357. TRAVELS WITH MY AUNT *by* GRAHAM GREENE (Retail price **$5.95**)

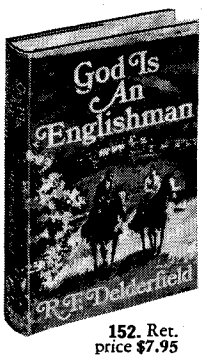


529. Ret. price **$10.95**

198. CREWEL EMBROIDERY *by* ERICA WILSON Illus. (Retail price **$7.50**)

399. A CHILD'S MIND *by* MURIEL BEADLE (Retail price **$6.95**)

260. THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS (Retail price **$11**)



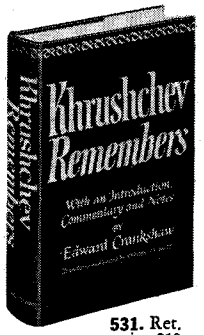
152. Ret. price **$7.95**

127. THE POETRY OF ROBERT FROST *Edited by* EDWARD CONNERY LATHEM (Retail price **$10.95**)

517. THE NEW ENGLISH BIBLE with the Apocrypha Standard edition (Retail price **$9.95**)

352. BALL FOUR *by* JIM BOUTON. Photos (Retail price **$6.95**)

484. THE 900 DAYS The Siege of Leningrad *by* HARRISON E. SALISBURY Photographs (Retail price **$10**)



531. Ret. price **$10**

580. MASTERING THE ART OF FRENCH COOKING *by* JULIA CHILD, LOUISETTE BERTHOLLE, SIMONE BECK Illus. (Retail price **$10**)

512. THE WARTIME JOURNALS OF CHARLES A. LINDBERGH. Photos (Retail price **$12.95**)

THESE THREE BOOKS COUNT AS ONE CHOICE

174. IN SOMEONE'S SHADOW, LISTEN TO THE WARM, STANYAN STREET & OTHER SORROWS *by* ROD MC KUEN (Ret. prices total **$13.50**)

123. CRISIS IN THE CLASSROOM *by* CHARLES E. SILBERMAN (Retail price **$10**)

520. BODY LANGUAGE *by* JULIUS FAST (Retail price **$4.95**)

275. MISS CRAIG'S FACE-SAVING EXERCISES Photographs (Retail price **$5.95**)

283. HUEY LONG *by* T. HARRY WILLIAMS Photographs (Retail price **$12.50**)

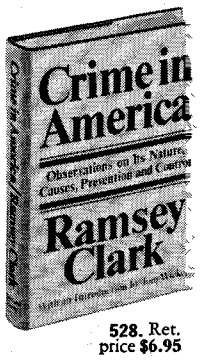
THESE TWO BOOKS COUNT AS ONE CHOICE

200. HOW CHILDREN LEARN *and* HOW CHILDREN FAIL *by* JOHN HOLT (Retail prices total **$9.45**)

431. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH *by* WILLIAM L. SHIRER (Retail price **$15**)

140. THE COMPLETE MEDICAL GUIDE *by* BENJAMIN F. MILLER, M.D 3rd revised edition Illustrated (Retail price **$9.95**)

368. WELLINGTON The Years of the Sword *by* ELIZABETH LONGFORD Illustrated (Retail price **$10**)



528. Ret. price **$6.95**

A LIBRARY-BUILDING PLAN EVERY READING FAMILY SHOULD KNOW ABOUT

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE COLLEGE

THE EXPERIMENTAL MEMBERSHIP suggested here will prove, *by your own actual experience*, how effectually membership in the Book-of-the-Month Club can **keep you from missing** books you fully intend to read.

As long as you remain a member, you will receive, each month, the Book-of-the-Month Club *News*, which describes the monthly Selection as well as scores of other important books, most of which are available at substantial discounts—up to **40%** on more expensive volumes. All of these books **are identical in size, quality and format to the publishers' editions.** If you wish to purchase the monthly Selection, do nothing and it will be shipped to you automatically. However, there is no obligation to purchase any particular volume. If you do not wish the Selection or any other book offered that month—or if you want one of the Alternates—simply indicate your decision on the convenient form provided each month and mail it so that it is received by the date specified on the form.

If you continue after this experimental membership, you will earn, *for every Club Selection or Alternate you buy*, a Book-Dividend Credit. Each Credit, upon payment of a nominal sum, often only **$1.00 or $1.50**—somewhat more for unusually expensive volumes or sets—will entitle you to a Book-Dividend® which you may choose from over 100 fine library volumes available over the year. This unique library-building system, together with the sizable discounts on Selections and Alternates, enables members to save **more than 60%** of what they would otherwise have to pay for books they want to read and own.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, INC.
280 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017 **A 127-1-2**

Please enroll me as a member of the Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the four volumes whose numbers I have indicated in boxes below, billing me $1.00 for all four volumes. I agree to purchase at least four additional monthly Selections or Alternates during the first year I am a member, paying special members' prices. My membership is cancelable any time after buying these four books. A postage and handling charge is added to all book shipments.

INDICATE BY NUMBER THE FOUR BOOKS YOU WANT

MR. / MRS. / MISS .....

JA 2'71

(Please print plainly)

Address..... **1-52**

City.....

State..... *Zip*.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED